TRUE STORIES OF NEW ENGLAND CAPTIVES CARRIED TO CANADA DURING THE OLD FRENCH AND INDIAN WARS

Volume 2

by

C. Alice Baker

Cambridge (Greenfield, Mass), Hall, 1897

BOSTON COLLEGE LIBRARY
CHESTNUT HILL, MASS.

E
85
.B16
v.2

50552

BC COLLEGE LIBRARY
CHESTNUT HILL, MA 02167

NOV 1 4 1995

BOSTON COLLEGE LIBRARY
CHESTNUT HILL, MASS.

MY HUNT FOR THE CAPTIVES.

There have been more noteworthy journeys to Canada than that whose fruits are gathered here.

There is that one abounding in thrilling experiences, from which Benjamin Waite and Stephen Jennings returned triumphant to Hatfield.

Many others, endured perforce by our captive ancestors with a fortitude never to be forgotten; and equally memorable those undertaken for their redemption.

Rev. John Williams thus writes of the most notable of these: "Mr. Sheldon, a good man and a true servant of the church in Deerfield, twice took his tedious and dangerous journey in the winter, from New England into Canada on these occasions."[1] Though, with the Redeemed Captive, I have "blessed God that deliverance was brought for so many," the number left behind could not be forgotten. As often as I have read in our annals the pathetic story, "taken captive to Canada, whence they came not back," I have longed to know their fate. The longing has become a purpose, and I have taken upon myself a mission to open the door for the return of the long-lost captives. I doubt if Deacon Sheldon himself was thought so demented, when he announced his

[1]Mr. Sheldon went three times to Canada for the captives.

intention of going to Canada in mid-winter to demand the release of his kinsfolk and neighbors, as I was, when I made known my purpose, to go to Montreal in December.

So with that apparent vacillation which often cloaks our firmest resolutions, I bought my tickets with the privilege of returning them, in case of a heavy snow storm on the day of departure. The day and the storm arrived together, but I had set my hand to the plough, and even if it should prove a snow plough, there was no turning back. Two hundred years have robbed the winter journey from New England to New France of all its tedium and danger, and one needs all the reflected glory of his heroic ancestry, to reconcile him to the ignoble ease with which it is performed.

After two days of fruitless search for the trail of our captives, I had begun to despair, when chance led me to the rooms of the Natural History Society. There, by a rare good fortune, I found a remarkable collection of the Old Régime, —priceless treasures, hitherto guarded jealously in the home, the convent or the church, now, for the first time, and probably the last, by the energy of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal, brought together for a week's exhibition. This alone would have repaid me for my journey. There were portraits of Wolfe and Montcalm, and silver mugs once owned by the latter. There were Champlain's autograph, and the patent of nobility conferred upon François Hertel and his posterity. Here I stood, face to face, with the illustrious founders of New France—soldiers, nuns, mission priests, Intendants, Governor-Generals, heroic martyrs, gallant captains and faithful viceroys of Louis XIV. The frank, sensible, practical, womanly and warm-hearted Marguerite Bourgeois; Madame de la Peltrie, the ardent and sincere, albeit romantic and sensational enthusiast; Père Jogues, the refined, scholarly and pious missionary, with his poor, mutilated hands, and his deeply-lined face; timid, humble,

W. Bartlett.

Long Sault Rapid on the St. Lawrence

self-distrusting, meek and patient as a lamb under Indian torture, bold as a lion in defence of his faith. Laval, the high-born prelate, stubborn fighter for the supremacy of the church; Talon, the intendant, sagacious, alert, whose delicate face gives no hint of his energetic character; Charlevoix, cotemporary and historian of them all. Here were Boucher and d'Ailleboust, representatives of the old *noblesse*, and de Montigny, greatest of Canadian warriors; the same to whom Esther Jones and Margaret Huggins and poor little Elisha Searle, may have appealed for mercy for their kinsfolk slain at Pascommuck. And here were the Hertel brothers, faces all too familiar to our Deerfield captives, handsome and noble faces, nevertheless. These were the features first revealed to our woe-begone ancestry, in the light of their burning homes, nearly two hundred years ago. This decoration may have been De Rouville's reward for his successful attack on Deerfield. Those very eyes must have beamed gratefully upon Mary Baldwin Catlin, as she tenderly raised the head and moistened the fevered lips of the wounded French youth. This thought was an inspiration. An hour later I found myself on a bench in the church vestry, with a crowd of old women, anxious for confession, awaiting my turn to speak with the Curé of Notre Dame. At four o'clock when the early sunset of that northern latitude overtook me, one might have seen me perched upon a high stool, at a grated window, straining my eyes over the ancient record, and translating letter by letter from the old French, the following, in the hand-writing of Father Meriel:

"On Monday, the 21st day of December, in the year 1705, the rites of baptism were by me, the undersigned priest, administered in the chapel of the Sisters of the Congregation, with the permission of Monsieur François le Vachon de Belmont, Grand Vicar of my Lord, the Bishop of Quebec, to Samuel Williams, upon his abjuration of the Independent religion ; who, born at Dearfielde in New

England, the 24th of Jan. O. S. [3d of Feb.] of the year 1690, of the marriage of Mr. John Williams, minister of the said place, and his wife Eunice Mather, having been taken the 29th of Feb. O. S. [11th of March] of the year 1704, and brought to Canada, lives with Mr. Jacques Le Ber, Esquire, Sieur de Senneville. His godfather was Jacques Le Ber. His godmother Marguerite Bouat, wife of Antoine Pascaud, merchant, who have signed with me."

Then follow the signatures of Senneville, Marguerite Bouat Pascaud and the unformed and tremulous autograph of Samuel himself. Dear lad! On this very spot he was sent to school, to learn to read and write French. The schoolmaster sometimes "flattered him with promises, if he would cross himself, then threatened him if he would not;" and finding promises and threats ineffectual, he "struck him with a cruel whip, and made him get down on his knees for an hour." For weeks, this went on, till at last, after many tears, "through cowardice and fear of the whip," says his stern, old Puritan father, "he was first brought to cross himself." From this to abjuration and baptism, was a natural step. Two days after his baptism, he wrote to his father in Quebec a strange letter, filled with accounts of the conversion of his fellow-captives to the Roman Catholic religion, and not one word of himself. "When I had this letter," says the heart-broken father, "I presently knew it to be of Mr. Meriel's composing, but the messenger who brought it, brought word that my son had embraced their religion. The news was ready to overwhelm me with grief and sorrow—anguish took hold upon me. I asked God to direct me what to do, and how to write, and to find an opportunity of conveying a letter to him." That letter, and Samuel's answer, may be read in "The Redeemed Captive."

Far into the twilight I sat there, spellbound by the old manuscript. How many tales it unfolded. True stories of real folks, far transcending in interest, any wonder book of

fiction. I pictured the fourteen years old boy in the house of his so-called master. It was, doubtless, one of the best in the town, for Jacques Le Ber, shopkeeper at Montreal, had by industry and thrift made himself a fortune, and ambitious for his children had "got himself made a gentleman for 6000 livres, ... so far had *noblesse* already fallen from its old estate."[1]

Though Jacques Le Ber was the possessor of riches and a title,—though it pleased him to be called *Ecuyer* or Esquire, and to sign himself Seigneur de Senneville, he had had sore disappointment. His wife had died. His eldest daughter, his favorite child, instead of helping him, in the care of the younger children, had shut herself up at twenty-two, in her chamber, where for ten years she sat embroidering altar cloths and vestments, refusing to see any one but her confessor, and the girl who brought her food. An odor of sanctity must have pervaded the house of Jacques Le Ber, and Samuel probably heard from her own sisters the story of Jeanne Le Ber. Ten years before he became an inmate of the family, she had retired to a cell which had been built for her behind the altar, in the new chapel of the nuns of the Congregation; and the boy and his master must both have thought of the family saint, so near and yet so far, as they stood by the altar when Samuel was baptized. It was kind in Jacques Le Ber to burden his household with the boy, and Samuel felt it; for he tells his father, in excuse for his conversion, that they told him (perhaps Le Ber's own children), that he had never been bought from the Indians, but was only sojourning in Montreal, and that if he would not turn, he should be given back to the savages, but that if he would he should never be put into their hands any more.[2]

I wondered as I sat there putting the two ends of the story

[1] Parkman. Old Régime, p. 256.

[2] "The Redeemed Captive," p. 77. Edition of MDCCC.

together, whether it was all so dreadful to the boy as it seems to us. Whether, as he waded from Jacques Le Ber's house to school, through that Canadian winter, he was ever gay and merry like other boys, and snowballed and frolicked on his snow-shoes. Or whether the thought of his mother slain, his father far away, his brothers and sisters scattered he knew not where, haunted him day and night. The priests spent whole days urging him to renounce his father's religion. To rescue from heresy the child of the Puritan preacher, was an object worth their labor, and they spared no pains nor argument to that end. When at last the ship came to take him home, they tried to frighten him with tales of shipwreck, and threats of eternal damnation. They told him if he would stay, the king would grant him a pension, and that his master, an old man and the richest in Canada, would give him a great deal of money; but that in New England he would be poor and homeless. It is a relief to remember that neither promise of preferment, nor the fear of poverty on earth and of hell hereafter, could keep him from home and native land.

When I walked back to my hotel, the stars were shining. The Montreal of to-day had vanished, and men, women and children from the Deerfield of 1704, thronged the snowbound streets of the old French town. Ville-Marie de Mont-Réal—what legend of the age of chivalry equals the romance of thy true history! The most brilliant conception of the imagination pales before the simple recital of the exploits of thy crusaders.

To all readers of "The Redeemed Captive" the name of Father Meriel is as familiar as that of Parson Williams himself. For the next two days I followed his steps in the old records as he went in and out among the captives. On the triumphant return of De Rouville from Deerfield, the Seigneur de Montigny, whom I have already mentioned as the

greatest warrior of New France, was sent to the Connecticut valley with a party of French and Indians. Montigny attacked Pascommuck, a little hamlet of Northampton, occupied by five families, and known also as Northampton Farms.

The Hampshire record is as follows:

"May 12 [13] Pascomok Fort taken by ye French and Indians being about 72. They took, and Captivated ye whole Garrison being about 37 Persons. The English Pursueing of them caused them to nock all the captives on the head, Save 5 or 6. Three they carried to Canada with them; the others escap'd and about 7 of those knocked on the Head Recovered, ye Rest died."

Those carried to Canada were Esther Inghesson, [Ingersol] wife of Benoni Jones; Margaret Huggins, her niece, aged eighteen, and Elisha Searle, a little boy of eight.

Imagine the emotions with which I read the Canadian account of the Pascommuck story. It is so strange to find the homely names of "*un petit Anglois*," or "*une petite Angloise*," and their fathers and mothers, old-time friends and neighbors of our own ancestry, done into French in Father Meriel's beautiful hand-writing as bright and clear to-day as if fresh from his pen. Stranger still it is to see them coupled with names of warriors and courtiers, who not only figure brilliantly in the annals of New France, but who once shared at Fontainebleau, the pleasures of the corrupt and splendid court of Louis XIV., who may have seen the rise and fall of the LaVallière and the Montespan,—and have lounged in the ante-chambers of Madame de Maintenon.

The old record reads like a novel, it is all so vivid. Instinctively I hold out my arms and whisper, "Don't be afraid," to the little Elisha Searle as I see him there, in his blue checked apron and shabby homespun, just as he was snatched from his mother's side. He stands there ready to burst into tears, clinging tight to the hand of Jean Baptiste Céléron de Blainville, with whom he lives. How he shrinks from the

priest and the baptismal water, and turns half trustfully towards Dame Marie Anne LeMoyne de Chassaigne, his godmother. It is all over now, and this is our last sight of little Elisha, or Elisée, as the French have it. His god-father, the Sieur de Blainville, has taken away the name given him by good Parson Stoddard, and when we meet him again, if we ever do meet him, it will be as Michel Searls. A year later, Margaret Huggins is baptized. Father Meriel tells us that she was the daughter of John Huggins and Experience Jones, born at Stony Brook in 1686, and baptized at Springfield four months later; that she was taken by the Abenaquis at Pascommuck, near Northampton, and carried by the Indians to St. Francis. From them she was bought by that illustrious exile, the Marquis de Crisafy, governor of Three Rivers, with whom she lived until August, 1706, when she was brought to Montreal. Her sponsors were Monsieur Etienne Robert and Marguerite Bouat, who seem to have been as zealous in the conversion of heretics as Father Meriel. I doubt not that her name re-appears later, where lack of time forbade me to look for her.

My next find was the story of Esther Jones, as Father Meriel wrote it out for Samuel Williams to copy and send it to his father. Between the lines it is easy to read the prolonged agony of that first year of captivity, ending for this poor woman in weeks of sickness in the hospital. There, "distempered with a very high fever, if not distracted," as Mr. Williams says, on their death beds, scarcely conscious of their acts, and "at first disdaining," she and Abigail Turbot yielded to the threats of the priests and the importunities of the nuns who took care of them, and, confessing the sins of their whole lives, abjured Protestantism, received extreme unction, died and were "honorably buried side by side, in the church-yard next the church," "close to the body of the Justice Pese's wife," writes Samuel, "all the people being

AN OLD FORT IN NOVA SCOTIA.

present." What a picture these few lines recall. The beauty of that spring night on Northampton meadows; the stillness broken by the horrid war-whoop; the terror of those five families; the flaming farm-houses; the flight with the prisoners; the brave pursuit and the merciless slaughter; the three desolate ones, marching on to unending captivity; the meeting with some of their Deerfield friends in the Indian camp at Coos; the arrival in Canada; their separation; the year of illness ending with the hospital, where Esther Jones finds her cousin, Abigail Turbot, who had been taken at Cape Porpoise, Me.;[1] finally, that gloomy Sunday afternoon in December, when both sufferers lay spent with the struggle, life ebbing fast from their fever-racked frames; grey-robed nuns flitting softly back and forth between them; black-gowned priests reiterating in low tones alternate threat and promise, their efforts at last successful; Father Meriel pressing forward with extreme unction for the penitents; Samuel Williams and other English prisoners looking on, awestruck at the scene; Madam Grizalem, as they call Christine Otis's mother, whose captivity has had a happier ending there too, let us hope as a kind mediator between the sufferers and their persecutors; the burial, at which "all the people were present;" the captives standing sadly about the open graves and wondering whose turn would come next; then, earth to earth, *requiescant in pace*; and Father Meriel hurries to the church vestry to write down before it is quite dark the record, which two hundred years later, shall be thus read by a descendant of Deerfield. So the curtain falls on the tragedy of Pascommuck.

In the attack on Deerfield, Sarah Jeffreys, widow of Thomas Hurst, and her six children were captured. The youngest, Benjamin or Benoni, was slain in the meadows. Sarah, eighteen, Elizabeth, sixteen, Thomas, twelve, Hannah, eight,

[1] Kennebunkport.

Ebenezer, five, were carried with the mother to Canada, where they were probably separated. Widow Sara, the mother, was re-baptized, and appears on the Canadian records as Marie Jeanne.[1] Ebenezer was baptized by Father Meriel on Sunday, Dec. 6, 1705, and the name of Antoine Nicolas was given him by his god-father, Monsieur Antoine Adhémar, registrar of the jurisdiction of Ville-Marie. His brother Thomas was carried to the Mission of Notre Dame de Lorette and baptized by Father Meriel at Montreal, on the 17th of January, 1706. We have heretofore believed that the Widow Hurst, with her two eldest daughters, was redeemed and returned to New England, Ebenezer, Thomas, and Hannah remaining in Canada. I am led to doubt this statement in regard to Elizabeth by the following extract from the Montreal register:

"On Monday, the 3d of October, 1712, after the publication of the three banns, I, the undersigned, Seminary priest of Montreal, with the permission of Monsieur François de Vauchon, Grand Vicar of the Bishop of Quebec, and with the mutual consent of Thomas Bécraft, weaver, aged thirty-three, son of Thomas Bécraft, deceased, and of his wife, Elizabeth Gay, of the Bishopric of Norwich in England, of the first part, and of Marie Elizabeth Hurst, aged twenty-three, daughter of the late Thomas Hurst, and his wife, Marie Jeanne Jeffreys of Deerfield, in New England, of the second part, both now living in this parish of Ville Marie, have married them and have given them the nuptial benediction in presence of Mr. John Thomas, master shipbuilder to the king, in this country, and of Daniel Joseph Maddox, friend of the groom, of William Perkins, stepfather of the bride, of Thomas Hurst, her brother, and of several others, friends of both parties, who have signed this certificate according to law, with the exception of Thomas Hurst, who says that he cannot sign."

Then follow Thomas's mark and the autographs of Marie

[1] See Hurst family in "A Day at Oka."

Françoise French, William Perkins, John Thomas, Jacob Gilman, Daniel Joseph Maddox, Joseph Bartlet and Meriel Prêtre. As the age of the bride corresponds exactly to that of Elizabeth Hurst, I am led to believe that Hannah went back with Sara and their mother to New England, and that Elizabeth, with the name of Marie added at her baptism, was left with Ebenezer and Thomas in Canada, where she married as above. The Marie Françoise French, who appears as one of the witnesses at the wedding of her friend Elizabeth Hurst, was a daughter of Deacon Thomas French and his wife, Mary Catlin. Deacon French was the town clerk of Deerfield, and also the blacksmith.[1]

The deacon and his children,—Mary, aged seventeen, Thomas, fourteen, Freedom, eleven, Martha, eight, and Abigail, six—were captured. His wife and their infant John were killed on the retreat. Deacon French and his two eldest children were redeemed. Freedom was placed in the family of Monsieur Jacques Le Ber, merchant of Montreal, and on Tuesday, the 6th of April, 1706, Madame Le Ber had her baptized anew by Father Meriel, under the name of Marie Françoise, the name of the Virgin added to that of her god-mother, being substituted for the Puritanic appellation of Freedom, by which she had been known in Deerfield. She signs her new name, evidently with difficulty, to this register, and never again does she appear as Freedom French. I find her often as a guest at the marriages of her English friends. Her sister Martha was given by her Indian captors to the Sisters of the Congregation at Montreal. On the 23d of January, 1707, she was baptized *sous condition*, receiving from her god-mother the name of Marguerite in addition to her own. On Tuesday, November 24, 1711, when about six-

[1]Thomas French's house stood just south of the present parsonage of the Second church: his shop, on the street in front of it. Not long ago, our Antiquary, digging on the spot, found charcoal and bits of iron, that must have fallen from the blacksmith's forge.

teen, she was married by Father Meriel to Jacques Roi, aged twenty-two, of the village of St. Lambert, in the presence of many of their relatives and friends. Jacques Roi cannot write his name, but the bride, Marthe Marguerite French, signs hers in a bold, free hand, which is followed by the dashing autograph of the soldier, Alphonse de Tonty ; and Marie Françoise French, now quite an adept in forming the letters of her new name, also signs. Two years later, on the 6th of February, at the age of twenty-one, Marie Françoise French married Jean Daveluy, ten years older than herself, a relative of Jacques Le Roi, her sister's husband. Daveluy could not write, but here, appended to the marriage register, I find for the last time the autographs of the two sisters written in full, Marie Françoise and Marthe Marguerite French.

Elizabeth Catlin, sister of Deacon French's wife, both daughters of Mr. John and Mary Baldwin Catlin, married James Corse, who died before the destruction of Deerfield, leaving her with three children, two boys and a little girl just the age of her cousin, Martha French. On her arrival in Canada, Elizabeth Corse, then eight years old, was taken by Pierre Roy or Le Roi, an inhabitant of St. Lambert, and on July 14, 1705, Pierre Le Roi's wife, Catharine Ducharme, and Gilbert Maillet, master mason, stood as sponsors at her baptism. She is allowed to keep her own name intact, though Father Meriel writes it Elizabeth Casse. The Canadian French sometimes pronounce the vowel a *ah* and sometimes *aw*. The latter doubtless represents the child's pronunciation of her family name, the r being entirely suppressed. With Pierre Le Roi's children, Jean, Jacques Barbe, and the rest, Elizabeth Corse grew up to the age of sixteen, when, on the 6th of November, 1712, she married Jean Dumontel of the same village. It is interesting to note that she named her first child Mary, in memory of her aunt, Mary Catlin French, and her second, Elizabeth, for her

Montmorency Cove.

Near Quebec

mother. Several with French names follow, among them a Pierre, which seems to hint at a kindly regard for her benefactor; Pélagie, the last, was born in 1728. On the 6th of January, 1730, Elizabeth Corse married, at St. Lambert, her second husband, Pierre Monet. It was in this very year that her brother James went up from Deerfield to look for her in Canada. How one longs to know whether he found her a widow, at the head of her young family, or whether he arrived too late for the second wedding. It seems hardly possible that his search could have been fruitless, or that the little colony of cousins and friends, settled in and near Montreal, could have escaped him.

Thanks to the detail of Father Meriel in his records, a thread of fancy may be interwoven with these bare statistics. We may imagine the grief and loneliness of these three cousins, when, after the horror of their seizure and the suffering of the journey were somewhat abated, they found themselves separated among a people so different and speaking a strange tongue. No doubt good Catharine Ducharme was at her wits' end to know what to do with the wailing little girl, who had fallen to her share in the distribution of prisoners; and that Martha French gave the pious nuns of the Congregation no end of trouble. The solemn routine of the cloister must have been very irksome to the wayward child, who had been free to rove with her mates, at their own sweet will, up and down the beautiful street of Deerfield. We may suppose that, after Elizabeth's baptism, Dame Le Roi asked the Sisters to let Martha French go home with her to St. Lambert for a while; and that this arrangement was found to be such a relief to all concerned that the visits became frequent, and that Freedom, *alias* Marie Françoise French was of the party. It is possible that Mary Brooks, who was the same age, was there too. She had been baptized as Marie Claire the Sunday after Elizabeth Corse, and

was living with the Seigneur Joseph de Fleury in Montreal. Gradually their homesickness wore away, and they grew to womanhood. We can picture these grandchildren of Mr. John Catlin, light haired, dark eyed—race type that we have known so well in later generations. No wonder that Jacques Roi and Jean Dumontel thought they had never seen maidens so winsome as Martha French and Elizabeth Corse, or that even grave, sober Jean Daveluy, with his thirty-one years' experience, was finally captivated by the beauty, vivacity and saucy wit of Marie Françoise French, who was probably living with her married sister at that time.

The condition of the people of Deerfield in the fall and winter of 1703-4 is pathetically described by Mr. Williams in a lettter to Governor Dudley, which I have quoted in another story. Though their elders were depressed by foreboding and fear, the young people of the village seem to have gone on as usual. Early in December young John Sheldon rode down to Chicopee and brought home Hannah Chapin, his bride, on a pillion behind him, clad, perhaps, in that famous pelisse, which the gossips had quilted of double thickness, laughingly telling her she would need it when the Indians should carry her off to Canada,—so perilous was the situation at Deerfield considered. I must confess that I have always looked with less favor on two other marriages contracted that winter, that of Elizabeth Price to Andrew Stevens, the Indian, and that of Abigail Stebbins to James Denio, of whom all that we have hitherto known is that he was one of three Frenchmen then living in Deerfield. That these two girls, born of good Puritan stock, should have done this thing, and especially at a time when the very name of French and Indian was most hateful to the people of New England, has always shocked my sense of the fitness of things. Andrew Stevens, "the Indian," was killed at the sacking of the town. His young wife, with James Denio and his bride, Abi-

FACSIMILE OF THE MARRIAGE RECORD OF ELIZABETH PRICE

NOTABLE AS BEARING THE SIGNATURES OF SEVERAL CAPTIVES

M. fournau et [illegible]beth Price

Le même jour troisieme de Fevrier de l'an mil sept cens six après la publication d'un ban et la dispense des deux autres obtenue de Messire François le Vachon de Belmont Grand Vicaire de Monseigneur l'Eveque de Quebec Sa soussigné Prêtre du seminaire de Villemarie commis a cet effet par ledit Messire François de Belmont après avoir pris le mutuel consentement par paroles de present de Jean Fourneau agé de vingt sept ans, maître Cordonnier fils de Jaques Fourneau et de Marguerite Genillac sa femme et natif de la ville et Evesché de Limoges, paroisse de Saiet Michel d'une part et de Marie Elisabeth Price agée de vingt deux ans et demi fille de Robert Price et de Defunte Sara Webb femme ~~[illegible]~~ veuve d'André Stevens ~~[illegible]~~ native de Northampton en la Nouvelle Angleterre d'autre part les ai mariés selon les rits de notre Mere Sainte Eglise en presence de Jaques de Lavau Maître Tanneur de Philippes Robitaille Maître Tonnelier, de Jaques Le Selle Menuisier de Noel le Sage amis du marié et de Samuel Williams fils de M. Jean Williams Ministre de Dearfield en la Nouvelle Angleterre ami de l'Epouse outre plusieurs autres amis ~~[illegible]~~ desdites parties. L'Epouse et Philippes Robitaille ont declaré ne savoir signer de ce enquis suivant l'ordonnance

marie Elisabeth price

Jacques de La Celle

Jacque de Lavaud

Noel Le Sage

~~[illegible]~~

Samuel, Williams

Hannah Parsons

marie esther Sayer

Chris tinne Oses

Catherine Denkyin

F. Belmont Vicaire

Meriel Prêtre

gail Stebbins, her father and mother and the rest of their children were captured. John Stebbins, his wife Dorothy and their two sons, John and Samuel, came back. Abigail and her husband, her sister Thankful, and her brothers, Ebenezer and Joseph, remained in Canada; so also did Elizabeth Price Stevens. The latter lived for a time with the Nuns of the Congregation, and having made formal abjuration of the "Calvinistic heresy," was baptized on the 25th of April, 1705, her godmother, Marie Elizabeth Le Moyne, daughter of Charles Le Moyne, Baron Longueuil, giving her the added name of Marie. Father Meriel says that she was "born at Northampton, and was the daughter of Robert Price, Episcopalian, and of his wife, Sara Web, Independent, and widow of Andrew Stevens of Northampton." She signs the register as Marie Elizabeth Stevens, but the autograph looks as if her hand were held and the letters traced by another. On the 3d of February, 1706, at the age of twenty-two, she married Jean Fourneau, a master shoemaker. Among those present were Samuel Williams, "friend of the bride," Hannah Parsons, Marie Esther Sayrs, Christine Otis and Catharine Denkyn, all English captives. She died ten days after the birth of her seventh child, Nov. 4, 1716. Though we may object to his methods, we cannot have followed thus far the ministrations of Father Meriel without admiring his persistent efforts to save the souls of those whom he regards as heretics. According to his light he befriended the captives, and there can be no question of his sincerity. I felt sure that his unflagging zeal would sooner or later put Abigail Stebbins's name on the baptismal register. When I tell you that but for her marriage with the Frenchman I should not have been I and this sketch might not have been written, you will understand the satisfaction with which I read the following:

"On Monday, the 28th of May, 1708, the rites of baptism have

been administered by me the undersigned Priest, to an English woman, named in her own country Abigail Stebbens, who born at Dearfield in New England, the 4th of January 1684 (N. S.) of the marriage of John Stebbens an inhabitant of that place, and of Dorothy Alexander, both Independants, having been baptized by the minister of that place some years after and married the 14th of February 1704 to Jacques Desnoions now Sergeant of Mr. de Tonti's company, came with him to Canada, towards the end of the following March, and lives with him at Boucherville. Her name Abigail has been changed to that of Marguerite. She has had for her godfather the High and Mighty Seigneur Phillippe de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, Chevalier de l'Ordre Militaire de St. Louis and Governor-General of New France ; and for godmother, Marguerite Bouat, wife of Antoine Pacaud, royal treasury clerk

who have signed with me according to the ordinance."

The autographs follow :

VAUDREUIL

Mgte BOUAT PASCAUD

MARGUERITE STEBBEN

Abigail's signature shows that she was over-powered by the presence of the *haut et puissant* Governor-General.

"Both Independants." How it stirs the dissenting blood in one's veins to read this of old John Stebbins and his wife Dorothy. How much in a little Father Meriel gives us. Here we have for the first time the real name and occupation of Abigail's husband, Jacques Desnoions, now Sergeant in Mr. de Tonti's company. That *now* banishes my life-long fear that the three Frenchmen in Deerfield that winter were scouts sent in advance by Hertel de Rouville. It is noticeable that Abigail Stebbins is not spoken of as the others have been, as "captured Feb. 29. 1704 and brought to Canada," but as having "come with her husband to Canada, and living with him at Boucherville." Here then was the clue. Boucherville was the home of Abigail's married life. On

its parish records I must look for the births of her children. With reluctance I shut the Montreal register and set about going to Boucherville.

Easily accessible in summer, it was not to be thought of in midwinter, said the officials. Thought, however, is not so easily dismissed. The thing done often seems of so little worth, compared with the thing foregone. After groping awhile among the defective copies of parish records in the court house, the Gordian knot was cut by a suggestion from the lady from Philadelphia that we should get across the river by train and trust luck for the rest. Booming through the great bridge, we halted for a moment at Saint-Lambert, the adopted home of Elizabeth Corse and her cousins, and thence to Longueuil. Here the courtesy of our conductor was our luck. He gave us in charge to a clever French driver, in whose capacious sleigh, with only our heads visible above the bear skins tucked up close under our chins, we glided on to Boucherville.

The road from Longueuil to Boucherville is a forcible reminder of that modified feudalism which formed the basis of Canadian colonization. Longueuil and Boucherville are among the oldest seigniories granted by the king with patents of nobility to the more prominent colonists of Canada. Charles Le Moyne, Baron of Longueuil, the son of an innkeeper at Dieppe, was a man of rare worth. The family founded by him is still eminent in Canada. Boucherville was the seigniory of Pierre Boucher, whose descendants, the De Bouchervilles, a family of distinction, still live on the spot. "The fief of the seignior," says Mr. Parkman, "varied from half a league to six leagues fronting on the river, and from half a league to two leagues in depth. The condition imposed on him may be said to form the distinctive feature of Canadian feudalism, that of clearing his land within a limited time, on pain of forfeiting it." This was to prevent

the lands of the colony from lying waste. "Canadian feudalism," still quoting Mr. Parkman, "was made to serve a double end,—to produce a faint and harmless reflection of French aristocracy, and simply and practically to supply agencies for distributing land among the settlers." . . . . "As the seignior was often the penniless owner of a domain three or four leagues wide and proportionally deep, he could not clear it all himself, and was therefore under the necessity of placing the greater part of it in the hands of those who could. But he was forbidden to sell any part of it which he had not cleared." He must grant it in turn to his vassals, on condition of a small annual rent. The usual grant from a seignior to his vassal included woodland and tillage. It was about a mile and a half in depth, with a narrow river frontage. The *censitaire* or tenant, *habitant* as he is still called, naturally built on the front of his lot, close by the river, which served as his highway, and as his neighbors did the same, a single line of dwellings, not far apart, was ranged along the shore, forming what is to this day called a *côte*. A continuous *côte* connects Longueuil and Boucherville. The picturesque beauty of the landscape and the splendor of that winter day are indescribable. The road of spotless white followed for seven miles along its southern shore the curves of the magnificent river. At the right, quaint old dwellings, each with its long well-sweep, its Lombardy poplars and its rude paling; the houses a story and a half high, built of stones and bits of rock of a rich brown color, irregular in size and shape, and imbedded in coarse, gray mortar; high, steep roofs, painted black or dull red, with curved and far projecting eaves; huge chimneys at the gable ends, built up from the ground outside; casement windows of different shapes and sizes, set without regard to external symmetry, and protected by heavy red wooden shutters; long, low barns, whose warped and weathered sides are crusted with yellow

lichens, their roofs thickly thatched, the thatch bristling erect like a close cut mane, along the ridge-pole. Enormous ricks of straw were clustered in the angles of the buildings; shaggy, stout-legged horses huddled together in the barn yards, resting their necks on each other; clumsy Breton cows moved slowly about; dingy, heavy-fleeced sheep poked their noses down among the dead grass of the fields, which the winds had laid bare in spots. An *habitant* raking straw from a snow-topped rick was the only sign of human life. His boots of untanned deer skin, his blouse of blue home-spun, belted with a scarlet sash, the tasselled peak of his red woollen cap falling to his shoulder, gave a bit of bright color to the picture. Behind the farm buildings lay a vast expanse of snow-drifted meadow, sparkling as if encrusted with gems; here and there a graceful elm in its naked beauty; and in the middle distance, rising abruptly from the plain, a pale blue mountain, vague and tender in the rimy atmosphere. At the left there was the low slope of the river's bank. Now and then the blackened thyrse of a sumach, or the dry pod of a milkweed rustled on its stalk, turning its buff satin lining to the light. Clumps of the red osier and yellow twigs of dwarf willows already gave promise of spring. At intervals immense blocks of ice jammed together, formed a rampart that cut off the view. Near Boucherville the river bank broadened into a great stretch of marsh, the haunt of innumerable wild ducks; and far beyond this the long, low Isles of Boucherville broke the otherwise dreary expanse of the gulf-like river.

Road and river, mountain and meadow are the same to-day as on that blustering March day in 1704, when at the dispersion of the captives at Montreal, Jacques de Noyon and his young bride wended the same way to his old home at Boucherville. Perhaps her husband, pitying her distress, had begged that her father and mother and her young

brothers and sister might accompany them. The houses may have differed somewhat from those of to-day. Doubtless some were built of logs and daubed with clay. Whatever the material, the form was the same; "Such as the peasants of Normandy built in the reign of the Henries."

From the northern provinces of France, from Brittany, Normandy and Picardy, Canada was peopled. They came in such numbers that the king at last instructed his minister to inform the intendant that he needed his peasants for soldiers and could not afford to depopulate France in order to people Canada. Year after year, however, shipload after shipload sailed from Rochelle or Dieppe. An anonymous writer of the period describes them as "docile, industrious and pious." Mr. Parkman adds: "They seem to have been in the main, a decent peasantry. Some of them could read and write, and some brought with them a little money."

Renowned as is the town of Noyon in Picardy for its linen factories and its magnificent church of the thirteenth century, famous as the place where Charlemagne was first crowned and Hugh Capet elected king, it is still more famous as the birthplace of Jean Chauvin, or John Calvin, the great reformer. It is not unlikely that another John, born in Noyon at a time when surnames were unusual, came to be known as John of Noyon, or Jean de Noyon. Be this as it may, we may assume that among the emigrants who, notwithstanding the king's protest, sailed yearly from Rochelle or Dieppe, came Jean de Noyon, with his wife, Jeanne Franchard, and Marin Chauvin of the Calvins of Noyon, with his wife, Gilette Ban. The women were Normans, from the neighborhood of Rouen. I have no doubt that their husbands were Picards, old friends and comrades in the town of Noyon. They were among the earliest settlers of Canada. On the 8th of December, 1650, Marie, daughter of Marin and Gilette Chauvin, was baptized at Three Rivers.

W. H. Bartlett

T. Tyrrell

Bridge near Quebec

She married at fourteen, Rolin Langlois of Three Rivers, a man ten years her senior. He died within three months after his marriage, and the youthful widow married the same year Jean de Noyon of Three Rivers, she being then fifteen and he, twenty-three years of age. This was at the time when such an incentive to early marriage was offered by the king in yearly pensions to those who should become the parents of large families. Pierre Boucher was then governor of Three Rivers and his daughter married there at the age of twelve.

William, the oldest son of Jean de Noyon, and Marie Chauvin, the widow Langlois, was born about 1666. Their second son, Jacques, our James, was baptized at Three Rivers, Feb. 12th, 1668. Jean de Noyon, 2d, son of Jean and of his wife, Jeanne Franchard, and father of William and James, was an edge tool maker and a master of his trade. A man who could make bill hooks and felling axes must have been very useful in a new country, and I dare say that Pierre Boucher, governor of Three Rivers, offered him some inducement to become a tenant of his seigniory. Whether this be so or not he removed with his family soon after the birth of his second son, to Boucherville. There three more sons and five daughters were born to him, ten children in all. They probably ran about bareheaded and barefooted, in scanty clothing, and "grew stout on bread and eels." As I find no evidence that any of them became priest, monk or nun, I suppose that Jean de Noyon received annually three hundred livres of the king's bounty money. This, with what he could earn from his trade and the product of his tillage, supported the family. The eels of the St. Lawrence, smoked and salted, supplied them with much of their food. As they grew older the boys hunted and fished, and in winter, perhaps, helped their father to fell and hew timber for the market, getting in exchange the bare necessities of life. The

general testimony concerning the Canadian youth of that period is that they would not work, but were idle and unruly, and as soon as they could handle a gun they spurned restraint and spent their time in the woods.

Household drudgery occupied the mother. The girls worked in the fields in summer but spent their winters in idleness. Domestic spinning and weaving were unknown arts in Canada at that time and hemp and flax were not cultivated till much later.

Jean de Noyon, master edge tool maker, died in 1692. Whether his eldest son, William, who had married three years before, lived with his mother and succeeded to forge and farm, I know not. At this time the disorders arising from the fur trade were at their height. In vain did the home government try to regulate or control this traffic. Licenses were granted, annual fairs established, to no purpose. Hundreds of young men took to the woods, carrying goods and brandy to exchange with the savage for peltries at their own price, to sell again at large profits. All the youth and the vigor of the colony was absorbed in this irregular trade. Men could not be found to till the seignior's acres. Farms ran wild again. Agriculture languished. Population diminished. A year or two of this free life in the wilderness made men averse to labor and loath to marry. The king was in despair. Severe edicts were followed by generous amnesties. The lawless vagabonds cared no more for one than the other. Neither threats of branding, whipping, hard labor at the galleys, nor promise of the king's grace and bounty could induce this army of *coureurs de bois*[1] to return to the duties and obligations of civilized life. So general was this outlawry, that at one time the intendant writes to the minister that "There is not a family of any condition or quality

[1]Bushrangers. By the Dutch called Bos Loopers: by the English, Swampiers.

soever that has not children, brothers, uncles and nephews among them," and he expresses the fear that if absolute pardon is not offered them "they may be drawn to pass over to the English, which would be a general loss to the country." Again he writes: "The *coureurs de bois* not only act openly, but they carry their peltries to the English and try to drive the Indian trade thither."[1] There is plenty of evidence that the English took advantage of the situation, paid the bush-rangers twice as much for their beaver skins as the Canadian merchants and sold them merchandise at much cheaper rates.

Jacques, the second son of Jean de Noyon, would have been twenty-four years old at his father's death. It is hardly probable that under any circumstances he would have stayed at home under his brother's rule. Of his career up to the time of his appearance in Deerfield I am ignorant. As he was probably no better nor worse than his fellows, why may we not assume that he was a part of this general exodus of the young men? Official letters from the New York government confirm the French accounts of the attitude of the *coureurs de bois—Boss lopers* as they are called. On Aug. 17, 1700, David Schuyler writes to the Earl of Bellamont[2] that Jean Rosie, the interpreter, whom Peter Schuyler mentions as an inhabitant of Albany and a very honest man although a Frenchman, "told him that there were thirty of the Principall Bush loopers, Canadians born, had combined together to come to Albany for passes to go to Ottowawa, for the governor of Canada would give them no passes there." In November of the same year Samuel York, a Portland man who had just been released from a ten years' captivity in Canada, and with Jean Rosie, a loyal citizen of Albany, passed fre-

[1]Memorial of Duchesneau to the Minister. N. Y. Col. Doc. Vol. IX, p. 131.

[2]Memorial of David Schuyler to the Earl of Bellamont. N. Y. Col. Doc. Vol. IV, p. 747.

quently back and forth as envoys between New York and Canada, testifies on examination that many of the *coureurs de bois* are in the Ottawawa country, "in a sort of rebellion," refusing to obey the orders of the Canadian governor and "very desirous to come to trade here with the English, only fear the Five Nations will not suffer them to pass through their country."[1] York and Rosie also told Governor Bellamont that these hunters had assured them they would come and offer their services to him and quit Canada forever. Evidently the governor did not discourage these advances, for on the 26th of October, 1700, two French bushrangers appeared in New York with the following petition:[2]

"My Lord, We, Jean De Noyon and Louis Gosselyn, come to place ourselves under your Excellency's protection, in the hope that you will allow us to live and trade with King William's subjects in the town of Albany and grant us the same rights and privileges as others enjoy, in which case we submit ourselves with promise of fidelity to the laws of the government. We are commissioned by our comrades to assure you, if our request be granted, that twenty-two, all fine young men, will come to Albany next February. And after that we promise to bring, in the month of September of the year 1701, thirty brave fellows to the said town of Albany, all laden with peltry: and finally, we oblige ourselves further in good faith to bring, in the aforesaid month of September, on our return from hunting, ten or twelve of the principal Sachims of the Ottowawa Nations. Dated in New York, this 26. October, 1700.

DeNoyon.
L. Gosselin."

The governor acts cautiously, fearing the Greeks, even bearing gifts. This opportunity to trade with the Ottowawas and to seduce the Northern Indians from their allegiance to the French, is a strong temptation. In November he writes

[1]Memorial of Samuel York, carpenter. N. Y. Col. Doc. Vol. IV, p. 749.

[2]Memorial of Two French Bushrangers. N. Y. Col. Doc. Vol. IV, p. 797.

tentatively to the Lords of Trade, setting forth the advantages of beaver hunting in the Ottowawa country.[1]

Who was the Jean de Noyon who was in New York in the autumn of 1700, as envoy from the rebellious *coureurs de bois*? Jean, the father of Jacques, was dead long before. Jean Baptiste, Jacques' brother, was but a lad of fourteen. It would be too daring a guess, for a matter of fact historian, that it was Jacques himself. It is not impossible that the translator of the petition may unconsciously have rendered Jacques as Jack, the nickname of John, and thus changed the name. This question is left to be solved by future research, either directly from Canada, or more likely by way of Albany.

Jacques de Noyon, a bushranger, discontented with his government and seeking a new home, came to Deerfield. That he was thirty-six years old and unmarried favors my theory that he had led a roving life. Flattered by the preference of the stranger, a man so much older than herself, the sober-minded Puritan girl was attracted by the gay *insouciance* of such a character. His vivacity and intelligence, his ardent temperament, his reckless courage, his songs and tales of wild adventure captivated her, and under his promise that her people should be his people, her God his God, she married him.

"The best laid plans of mice and men gang aft agley," and suddenly, in a most unexpected manner, Jacques de Noyon was restored to his native land. Perhaps his presence on that fateful night saved his wife's whole family from the tomahawk.

On his return to Boucherville, Jacques de Noyon probably found his mother and her three youngest children, a son and two daughters, living on the old spot. We can imagine the stir in the family at the return of the outlaw with his

[1]Letter of Bellamont to the Lords of Trade. N. Y. Col. Doc. Vol. IV, p. 781.

English bride and her relatives. In the following December the first child of Jacques de Noyon and Abigail Stebbins was born. On the 28th of December, 1704, in the parish church of Sainte-Famille at Boucherville, Father de la Saudray baptized "René de Noyons, born the 26th of the same month, son of Jacques de Noyon and Gabrielle Stebben, his wife living in this parish," Jean Boucher, Sieur de Niverville and Marie de Boucherville standing as sponsors to the child. In Gabrielle I recognize the attempt of De Noyon's mother and sisters to render into French, Abigail, the harsh English name of his wife. Other children followed in rapid succession. On the 12th of March, 1706, Father Meriel, who seems never to have lost track of a single Deerfield captive, baptized Marie Gabrielle, born the day before, Louise de Noyon, the baby's aunt, being her godmother.

Jean Baptiste was born August 11, 1707, and baptized the next day, his paternal uncle, for whom he was named, acting as godfather. This child died "in the communion of the holy Catholic church" exactly one year from the day of his birth.

Up to this time we have no clue to the occupation of Jacques de Noyon after his return to Canada. His life in the bush had unfitted him for farming; the forest was his element; a young family was pressing upon him for support; a soldier's life was most to his taste, and he became a sergeant in Mr. de Tonti's company. This was Alphonse de Tonti, younger brother of the distinguished Henri de Tonti, friend and companion of La Salle. Father Meriel had never ceased importuning De Noyon to have his wife baptized into the holy Catholic church. She felt that the baptism which she had received from good Parson Williams was sufficient, and as her husband's long separation from church and priest had made him indifferent, he did not urge her. Now that he was turning his back on his former

T. Bartlett

S. Bradshaw

Working a Canoe up a Rapid

life and ranging himself on the side of law and order, and as at any moment he might be killed in battle, he probably thought it wise to secure for her the protection of the church. Accordingly one Monday morning in May, 1708, they paddled over in their canoe to Montreal, where, as we have already seen, she was baptized Marguerite. This was an eventful summer. On the 29th of June, her young brother Ebenezer, who was living with her, was baptized, receiving from his god-father, Jacques Charles de Sabrevois, captain of a detachment of the marine, the name of Jacques Charles. The certificate is signed by the priest, by De Noyon in a handsome handwriting, by De Sabrevois, and by the wife of the Seignieur Boucher as god-mother.

The fourth child of Jacques and Abigail Stebbins de Noyon, was born on the 12th of October, 1708, and named Jean Baptiste in memory of his dead brother. His aunt, Thérèse Stebbins, whom we remember as Thankful Stebbins of Deerfield, and who was living with her sister Abigail, was his godmother. In the record of baptism the baby's mother is called by her new name, Marguerite. The father was absent on this occasion, being doubtless with his company at Fort Frontenac, then commanded by Captain de Tonti. It is probable that Abigail's father and mother and brother John had ere this been released from captivity. Before the birth of their next child, François, baptized July 7th, 1710, Jacques de Noyon had removed his family to the Côte St. Joseph, another part of the parish of Boucherville. This must have been an equal relief to his mother and his wife. I fancy that the housekeeping now began to show New England thrift and industry, and that the noise of the shuttle and the cheerful hum of the spinning wheel were soon heard in the new home. Dorothée, named for her grandmother Stebbins, was baptized Oct. 3, 1711. Then followed Marie Joseph, who died in infancy, Jacques René, Marie Charlotte, an-

other Marie Joseph, Marie Magdalen, and finally Joseph, born June 21, 1724.

René, the eldest of these children, when about ten years old, had been sent with a party of French and Indian traders to visit his grandparents in Deerfield. His grandfather Stebbins induced him to stay, and when the hunters were ready to go back René could not be found. Not understanding the boy's pronunciation of his own name, or wishing him to bear a more godly appellation, his grandfather called him Aaron. So René de Noyon grew up in Deerfield as Aaron Denio. In 1723, John Stebbins died. In his will he left one-eighth of his lands to each of his children then in Canada, to wit: Samuel, Ebenezer, Joseph, Abigail and Thankful, provided they would come and live in New England. Each one's share, if he died in New England, was to descend to his heirs; otherwise, to revert to those who remained in New England.

"Those that will not live in New England," says the old man, "shall have five shillings apiece, and no more. . . . . Yet be it forever understood that if my daughter Abigail come not and tarry as above said, then Aaron Denieur, her son, shall be my Heir in her Room and Stead, provided Said Aaron continue in this Countrey then. After my decease and my wife's decease, Said Aaron shall enter upon that which should have been his mother's part, and possess it until his mother comes, but if She come not and fulfill the above said Conditions, and Aaron stays in New England and doth fulfill them, then the said eighth part of my lands to descend to said Aaron's heirs forever." . . . . And if some of my children, now in Canada, shall come and fulfill the conditions . . . . . though the rest come not then my lands shall be divided between my son John and Aaron, and those that do come . . . . . John having three times as much as one of the rest. . . . . .

It is to be supposed that Jacques and Abigail de Noyon had heard at intervals from their son, and that René had in-

formed his mother of his grandfather's death. His uncle John must also have notified his brothers and sisters in Canada of the conditions of their father's will. After much talk, Abigail decided to accompany her brother Samuel to Deerfield. It was certainly no mercenary motive that led her to undertake such a journey under the circumstances. Five shillings was to be her dole if she returned to Canada, and to husband and children she must return. But her heart yearned for the boy from whom she had been separated for years. She longed—who does not?—to revisit the home of her childhood and to see her old mother once more before she died. How or when the journey was performed, how long the visit lasted, and what was her escort on her return to Canada, I know not. I only know that in Deerfield, on the 27th of February, 1726, her thirteenth and last child was born.

The little Marie Anne, "born," so the record reads, "at Guerfil, in New England, on the 27th of February, 1726," was baptized at Boucherville on the 5th of November of the same year, her eldest sister, Gabrielle de Noyon, then the wife of Nicholas Binet, being her godmother.

Samuel Stebbins remained in Deerfield.

At the marriage of one of Abigail de Noyon's daughters at Boucherville in 1731, Nicolas Binet and Joseph Stebbins, uncle of the bride, both from the parish of Chambly, appear as witnesses.

About 1734 Joseph Stebbins married Marguerite Sanssoucy. He died the 23d of April, 1753, aged fifty-two. Their descendants still live in Chambly. Marie Chauvin, the mother of Jacques de Noyon, died in 1723, the same year as his wife's father.

Abigail de Noyon, born Abigail Stebbins of Deerfield, died at the age of sixty, and was buried at Boucherville, on the 15th of November, 1740. Her husband, Jacques de Noyon,

aged about seventy-eight, was buried on the 12th of May, 1745.

Here ended my hunt after the captives. It was as if I had laid the ghosts of unburied shades that had wandered, restless, haunting my whole life. It was a sad satisfaction to find that these offsets from the first planting of Deerfield, though rudely transplanted, had not been utterly blasted; that when the sting of their first grief was over, these young men and maidens in their turn had loved, married, reared children, founded homes, and at length rested in peace.

HAYNE HUDJIHINI.

TWO CAPTIVES.

A ROMANCE OF REAL LIFE, TWO HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

The name of Somers Islands, corrupted in our time to "Summer Islands," was given to the Bermudas, not, as many suppose, on account of their genial climate, but because of the shipwreck there in 1610 of Sir George Somers and his companions on a voyage to Virginia. Up to that time, doubtless because of their dangerous coast, the "still vexed Bermoothes," had been known to the English as the "Ile of Divels,[1] and reputed a most prodigious and inchanted place . . . . . never inhabited by any Christian or Heathen people."

The report of the shipwrecked men who dwelt nine months upon the islands, enjoying the balmy air, and finding the soil "abundantly fruitful of all fit necessaries for the sustentation and preservation of man's life," removed all fears of the Ile of Divels from the minds of the venturous youth of England.

Sir George Somers sold his claim to the Bermudas, to a

[1]Pamphlet by Silvester Jourdan, published in London, 1610. "A Discription of the Bermudas otherwise called the Ile of Divels."

company of one hundred and twenty, who got a charter for their settlement and in 1612, sent out sixty settlers. During the civil war in England, and immediately after, many persons took refuge there. The poet Waller invested money in Bermuda land, and Mr. Edmund Gosse thinks that he wrote his poem of the "Battle of the Summer Islands" as an advertisement of his plantation to his rich and noble friends. In exchange for the products of the Islands England sent cloth, which, says the poet,

"Not for warmth, but ornament is worn. . . . . .
Such is the mould, that the blest tenant feeds,
On precious fruits,—and pays his rent in weeds;
With candy'd plantain, and the juicy pine,
On choicest melons, and sweet grapes they dine,
And with Potatoes feed their wanton swine.
. . . . .
Tobacco is the worst of weeds which they
To English landlords, as their tribute pay.
. . . . .
So sweet the air,—so moderate the clime,
None sickly lives, or dies before his time;
For the kind spring which but salutes us here,
Inhabits there, and courts them all the year."

Dear to the student of New England genealogies is a book entitled "Original Lists of Persons of Quality, Emigrants, Religious Exiles, Political Rebels, Serving men sold for a term of years, Apprentices, Children stolen, Maidens pressed and others, who went from Great Britain to the American Plantations from 1600 to 1700." According to this book, on the 13th day of September, 1635, the good ship Dorset, John Flower, Master, weighed anchor at London "bound for ye Bermodas." Aboard her was a motley company, ninety-five passengers all told. Full half were lads under eighteen. Eight had already reached that important age. The rest were mostly young men under thirty-five, half a dozen of whom were accompanied by their wives. Among the passengers were two ministers, Rev. Geo. Turk and Rev. Daniel Wite or White. Two linger longest at the stern, as

the ship slowly leaves her moorings, Judith Bagley, a lone, lorn woman of fifty-eight, apparently with no kith nor kin to keep her company, and James Rising, a resolute stripling of eighteen,—the only one of his name discoverable among the founders of New England.

To which of the afore-mentioned lists shall we refer this ship's company? "What sought they thus afar?" For lack of present knowledge, I shall assume that love of adventure led James Rising to seek his fortune in the New World, and that he came, apprenticed for a term of years to labor in the Bermudas. Of his life there, we have as yet no details. Sugar and molasses became important exports from the islands, and New England afforded a good market for the latter article, being then largely engaged in the distillation of rum from molasses.

"Att a general town meeting held at Salem on the 20th day of the 4th month of the year 1657 James Rising is received an Inhabitant into this Towne." About three weeks later, on the 7th of July, 1657, he married at Boston, Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Hinsdell, the sturdy pioneer of Dedham, Medfield and Deerfield. I conclude that he probably chose Salem as his home in New England, as being a port of entry for ships, freighted with the products of the islands. He was admitted as a member of the First Church in Salem, on the 22nd day of the 11th month, 1661,[1] by a letter from his Pastor Wite or White of the church in Bermuda. On the 20th day of the 2nd month, 1663,[2] his daughter Hannah was baptized in the First Church of Salem. Whether his two sons James and John, were older or younger than their sister is unknown.

Windsor, Conn., was at that time a leading commercial town, and carried on an extensive trade with the West In-

[1]Jan. 20. O. S. [2]April 20. O. S.

dies and adjacent islands. There was no bridge at Hartford, and Windsor became a noted port of entry, not only for coasters and West India vessels, but for English ships. The river was at all times full of vessels loading and unloading there, and "Windsor green, often heaped with goods" awaiting storage or transportation, "was lively with jovial sea captains" and sunburned sailors. Making and shipping pipe-staves was an important industry of this vicinity, and James Rising may have wished to add this branch of trade to his business. However this may be, he was "voted an inhabitant of Windsor," on March 11th, 1668, and the next year he was formally dismissed by letter from the church of Salem to that of Windsor. There his wife died on the 11th of August, 1669. Four years later he married the Widow Martha Bartlett, who died in less than a year after her marriage. It is said that he kept the ferry at Windsor. To the contribution made by that town to the sufferers from Philip's war in other colonies, James Rising gave five shillings, his son John one shilling and sixpence, and his daughter Hannah, one and three pence.

The same year a grant of fifty acres was allotted to him in Suffield, and in 1682 as a proprietor he voted at the organization of that town. There in 1688 at the age of seventy-one he died.

Of his daughter Hannah nothing more appears. His son James died unmarried two years after the father's death, being taken care of in his last illness by his brother John, who inherited his estate.

John Rising lived at Suffield. His first wife was Sarah, daughter of Timothy Hale of Windsor. By her he had nine children. Josiah, their seventh child, was born Feb. 2nd, 1694. His mother died when he was but four years old, and his father soon married again. The stepmother, burdened with the care of a house full of children, the eldest of whom

W. H. Bartlett R. Sands

A Settler's hut on the frontier

was but fourteen, probably found little Josiah, a robust boy of five, a trial to her patience. At some unknown period, probably on the birth of a new baby in 1702, he was sent to Deerfield to stay with his father's cousin, Mehuman Hinsdell.

Leaving little Josiah Rising with his cousins in Deerfield, we must go back and take up another thread of our story.

It is the morning of the 24th of September, 1667: the day when the County Court begins its fall session at Springfield. A crowd is already gathering at the ordinary, so the inn of the olden time was called, a room being always set apart there for the holding of the court. Men with pointed beards and close cropped hair, in tall steeple-crowned hats, short jerkins of a sad color with wide white wristbands turned back over the sleeves; leather belts, broad falling collars stiffly starched, tied with a cord and tassel at the throat, hanging down on the breast and extending round on the back and shoulders; full trousers reaching the knee, where they are fastened with a bow: long, gray woollen stockings, and stout leather shoes, broad, low and well oiled, complete the costume. Some of the younger men are in great boots rolled over at the top, and slouching in wrinkles about the leg.

The women are in steeple hats, not unlike those of the men,—and Mother Hubbard cloaks. Some are bareheaded or wear a handkerchief over the head, with white kerchief pinned straight down from the throat to the waist, white cuffs and long, white aprons covering the front of their gray or black woollen gowns. The boys and girls, miniature copies of their elders, except that the boys wear woollen caps with visors, and the girls, close fitting hoods of the same material.

A constable armed with a long, black staff tipped with brass, having three youths in charge, forces his way through the crowd. They have been sent by the commissioners at

BOSTON COLLEGE LIBRARY
CHESTNUT HILL, MASS.

Northampton, to be tried and sentenced at Springfield. The culprits are pale and evidently frightened. The face of the youngest, a mere child, is swollen with weeping. The others, who are perhaps sixteen and seventeen years old, affect an indifference to their situation which their pallor belies. It is easy to see that the eldest is the most hardened of the three.

"In sooth they are not ill looking lads," said a gossip, "I marvel of what evil they are accused." "The little one is the son of Goodman John Stebbins our former neighbor," said another, "He numbers scarce twelve summers, yet methinks he is old in sin, for they say he hath entered the house of his stepmother's father, with intent to steal." "One Godfrey Nims is the ringleader of these villanies," put in a third. "He hath conspired with the others to run away to Canady, under the guidance of a drunken Indian varlet, who hath been hanging about Northampton of late." "It is believed that Goodman Hutchinson will intercede with the Court in behalf of Benitt," added the last speaker, "he hath lately taken the lad's mother to wife." "Poor boys," said a young mother, who led her little son by the hand, "I hope our Worshipful magistrate will mercifully consider their youth, and the shame to their parents."

"Our magistrate is a God-fearing man," replied a stern Puritan father at her elbow. He will deal justly with the malefactors, but it behooves him not to be merciful overmuch. Our young men are getting overbold in their carriage. Our maidens wear silk in a flaunting manner, and indulge in excess of apparill to the offence of sober people. They must be taught to fear God, to obey the law and honor their parents."

"Ay, verily, it were better if they were more often admonished and scourged," interrupted a hard-faced woman, "and for my part I should like to see a score of lashes well laid on

to the backs of these knaves I misdoubt if they get off with less."

The entrance of the magistrates and jurors put a stop to the talk, and the trial proceeded. The story is told in the records far better than I could tell it:

"Sept. 24, 1667. Att the County Court holden att Springfield, Capt. John Pynchon one of the Honored Assistants of this Colony presiding, "James Bennett, Godfrey Nims and Benoni Stebbins, young lads of Northampton being by Northampton Commissioners bound over to this Court to answere for diverse crimes and misdeeds comitted by them, were brought to this court by ye constable of y^t^ towne, wch 3 lads are accufed by Robert Bartlett, for that they gott into his house two Sabbath days, when all the family were at the Publike Meeting, on ye first of which tymes, they, viz Nims and Stebbins did ransack about the house, and took away out of diverse places of the house viz, 24 shillings in silver and 7 sh. in Wampum, with intention to run away to the ffrench, all wch is by them confessed; wch wickedness of theirs hath allso been accompanyed with frequent lying to excuse and justify themselves especially on Nims his part, who it sems hath been a ringleader in the villanyes; ffor all which their crimes and misdemeands this corte doth judge y^t^ the said 3 lads shall bee well whipt on their naked bodies, viz Nims and Bennett with 25 lashes apeece and Benoni Stebbyngs with 11 lashes; and the said Nims and Stebbins are to pay Robert Bartlett the Summe of 4£ being accounted treble damage, according to law for what goods he hath lost by their means. Allso those persons that have received any money of any of the said lads, are to restore it to the s^d^ Robert Bartlett. But their being made to the Corte an earneft pitition & request by Ralph Hutchinson, father in law to ye said Bennet, and diverse other con siderable persons, that the said Bennett's corporall punishment might be released, by reason of his mother's weaknese, who it seemed may suffer much inconvenience thereby, that punishment was remitted upon his father in law his engaging to this corte, to pay ffive pounds to ye County, as a fyne for the said Benitts of-

fence; which 5£ is to be paid to ye county Treasurer for ye use of Sd county. Allso John Stebbins Junior, being much suspected to have some hand in their plotting to run away, This Corte doth order ye Commissioners of Northampton to call him before ym, & to examine him about that, or any other thing wherein he is supposed to be guilty with ye said lads and to act therein according to their discretion attending law. Also they are to call the Indian called Onequelat, who had a hand with ym in their plott, and to deale with him according as they fynd."

The three thoroughly scared boys were sent back the next day to Northampton. There let us hope that little Benoni was taken from the grasp of the law, and put into his father's hands for chastisement. Bennett's fine was paid by his stepfather. As for Godfrey Nims he paid the penalty of his misdeeds at the whipping post in front of the meeting house. Alas for poor Godfrey! he lived in the age when a spade was called a spade. Lying was lying in good old colony days. Nobody thought of applying to the wild boy the soft impeachment of being an imaginative youth. The luckless wight had no indulgent friends to plead for him that "boys must be boys" and that wild oats must be sown. Wild oats were an expensive luxury in those days, as poor Godfrey found to his cost. Doubtless he was a disorderly fellow, yet without wishing to palliate his offence, I may say that he was without the good influences of a home life. There is no evidence of his having father or mother, kith or kin at Northampton. An active and excitable lad, with no legitimate scope under Puritan rule for his surplus energy, he fell in with the Indian vagrant, by whose tales of bush-ranging, his soul was fired to daring and reckless deeds. It is of such stuff that pioneers and heroes are often made.

Another turn of the kaleidoscope gives us a better picture of these impulsive youths.

It is the 18th of May, 1676. The sun, sinking behind the

W H Bartlett

R. Wallis

VIEW FROM MOUNT HOLYOKE.

western hills, throws a golden glow over meadow and river. The Holyoke range is already in shadow. A force of about one hundred and forty-four men is gathered at Hatfield, awaiting the order to march against Philip's horde, for it was now the "generall voyce of the people" that "it was time to distress the enemy and drive them from their fishing at Peskeompskut.[1] Nearly all are mounted; a few on foot. Among the volunteers from Northampton are Godfrey Nims and James Bennett, comrades to-day in a righteous cause. Nims as usual with a dare-devil look in his eyes, resolute, careless and ready for any fate; Bennett more serious and subdued. The Reverend Hope Atherton, chaplain of the expedition, pours out his soul in prayer for the little army, and the cavalcade moves northward. Who at that moment remembered the youthful escapade of Godfrey Nims and James Bennett? Surely not Mary Broughton, who stood sobbing among the women that watched their departure. She had married Bennett in 1674, not long after she herself, had had a brush with the magistrates. At the March Court[2] of 1673, held at Northampton by Worshipful John Pynchon, Captain Holyoke and Deacon Chapin, Maid Mary Broughton had been severely admonished, and fined ten shillings for wearing a silk hood or scarf contrary to law. A sympathetic revolt against Puritan discipline may have attracted Bennett and Mary Broughton to each other. Their happiness was short-lived. On Saturday Nims brought her the sad news that Bennett had been killed in the Falls fight. In the spring of 1677, the young widow married Benoni Stebbins, her husband's dearest friend, another of the trio of bad boys of Northampton. Soon after his marriage Benoni Stebbins joined Quentin Stockwell and several other bold men who

[1]Now Turner's Falls.

[2]Courts were held in March at Northampton, and in September at Springfield.

returned to Deerfield two years after the massacre at Bloody Brook, to begin a new settlement. There Stebbins worked early and late at the house to which he fondly hoped to bring his bride before winter should set in. At the end of their day's work on the 19th of September, 1677, they were surprised by twenty-six Indians from Canada under Ashpelon. Hurried up from the clearing to the mountain, they found there seventeen people from Hatfield who had been seized the same day, and with them, began the weary march to Canada. They were the first to follow that woful road, travelled later by so many New England captives. Crossing and recrossing the Connecticut, they journeyed rapidly by day. At night they lay stretched on their backs upon the ground, a rope about their necks, arms and legs extended and tied to "stakes so that they could stir nowayes." Halting thirty miles above Northfield, Ashpelon sent Benoni Stebbins back towards Lancaster, to notify a part of his band to join him on the Connecticut. On the return, Stebbins escaped on the 2nd of October and reached Hadley in safety. His own account taken down in writing on the 6th by the postmaster of Northampton, says that "being sent out with two squaws and a mare to pick huckleberries, he "got upon the mare and rid till he tired the mare, then ran on foot, and so escaped, being two days and a half without victuals."

Notwithstanding the sorrows and perils that so beset the life of Mary Broughton, her high spirit seems not to have been crushed. The following from the Court Records of March 26, 1678, shows that she never yielded a woman's right to make herself look as pretty as she could, and that she was upheld in her resistance by her admiring husband.

"Mary wife of Benoni Stebbins being presented to this Court for wearing silk contrary to law, and for that she agravates it by persisting in it, when as she was once presented before : This court considering the agravation, and how unfit such things are in this

day of trouble, did adjudge her to pay a fine of 10 shillings: As also Benoni Stebbins, openly affronting the court in saying he would not pay the money due for fees to the clerk of the Court; this Court ajudged him to pay as a Fine to the County 10 sh. forthwith, and committed him to the constable for the payment of the aforesaid fines."

Benoni Stebbins returned to Deerfield at its permanent settlement in 1682, becoming a prominent citizen there, and filling the highest town offices creditably to himself and acceptably to his neighbors. Mary, his wife, died in 1689.

About the time of Benoni Stebbins's marriage, Godfrey Nims had wedded the Widow Mary Williams and become the guardian of her little boy. He owned land in Deerfield in 1674, and if he were not, as tradition declares, one of the first three inhabitants,[1] he and Benoni Stebbins with their families, were certainly among the earliest permanent settlers. Godfrey Nims, cordwainer, appears to have been an industrious and law abiding citizen. He was the first constable of Deerfield, being chosen in 1689, and later held other town offices.

In 1692 on his marriage to his second wife, Mehitable Smead, widow of Jeremiah Hull, he bought the lot on which the second church, the town house and Memorial Hall now stand, and built a house which was burned Jan. 4th, 1693–4. His little stepson, Jeremiah Hull, perished in the flames. The same year he bought the adjoining lot, building again on the site which has ever since been held by his descendants. When Joseph Barnard was wounded at Indian Bridge, and his horse killed under him, Godfrey Nims bravely took the helpless man upon his own horse, which being soon shot down, he was forced to mount behind Philip Mattoon, and "so got safely home."

Immediately upon Queen Anne's accession, the people of

[1]Samuel Hinsdell and Samson Frary were in Deerfield in 1670.

Deerfield began to make ready to meet the tempest from the north which they felt to be impending. The fort was "righted up," the school master was asked to help the selectmen "in wording a petition to the governor for help in the distress occasioned by a prospect of war." In the summer of 1703, Peter Schuyler warned the people of Deerfield that an expedition against them was fitting out in Canada. Those who had settled at a distance from Meeting House Hill, began to seek shelter within the palisade. Twenty soldiers were sent as a garrison to the settlement. On the 8th of October John Nims and Zebediah Williams, son and stepson of Godfrey Nims, while looking after their cows in the meadow, were captured by Indians, and carried to Canada. Such was the alarm and distress of the people, that they urged their minister to address the government in their behalf. The letter is a credit to pastor and people. In asking for relief from taxation as the fortification must be rebuilt, Mr. Williams says: "I never found the people unwilling to do, when they had the ability, yea they have often done above their ability." He speaks of the "sorrowful parents and distressed widow of the poor captives taken" from them, as requesting the governor "to endeavor that there may be an exchange of prisoners to their release." Parson Stoddard of Northampton also wrote to Governor Dudley in behalf of Deerfield. He tells him that the people are much depressed and discouraged by the captivity of two of their young men, and asks that dogs may be trained to hunt the Indians, "who act like wolves and are to be dealt withall as wolves." To this letter dated Northampton, Oct. 22, 1703, the following postscript is added: "Since I wrote, the father of the two captives[1] belonging to Deerfield has importunately desired me to write to your Ex'cy that you w[d] endeavor the Redemption of his children."

[1]Godfrey Nims.

Toronto

Notwithstanding the general uneasiness, private affairs went on as usual. Birth, marriage, death, like time and tide, stay for naught. Winter wore to spring. The soldiers were still billeted in the homes of the people. The minds of all were tense with anxiety. The air was thick with omens. Sounds were heard in the night as of the tramping of men around the fort. March came in like a lion. The village lay buried in the snow, the people in sleep. In that hour before dawn when night is darkest and slumber deepest, the long-dreaded storm burst; unexpected at the last, like all long-expected events. On what a wreck the morning broke! Benoni Stebbins, after fighting for hours like a tiger at bay, lay dead in his house. In the southeast angle of the fort, Godfrey Nims's house was still burning, three of his little girls somewhere dead among the embers. His daughter, Rebecca Mattoon, and her baby, slain by the tomahawk. Ebenezer, his seventeen years old son, his stepdaughter, Elizabeth Hull, aged sixteen; his wife with Abigail, their youngest child, about four years old, already on the march to Canada.

His opposite neighbor, Mehuman Hinsdale, bereft of wife and child by the same blow,—also a captive, with the boy Josiah Rising, his little Suffield cousin, whom he had taken into his home and heart. Did Godfrey Nims and Benoni Stebbins in those hours of horror, remember how in their boyhood, they had "plotted together to run away to the ffrench" with Onequelatt the Indian?

How Thankful Nims and her family were saved by a snowdrift: how Godfrey's wife was killed on the march: how Zebediah Williams died at Quebec, firm in the Protestant faith: how John Nims escaped from captivity, and was finally married in Deerfield to his step-sister, Elizabeth Hull: how Ebenezer Nims contrived to outwit the good priests, who were faithfully trying to secure his sweetheart's

conversion[1] by marrying her to a Frenchman: how Mehuman Hinsdale came back to Deerfield, and was again "captivated by ye Indian Salvages," are matters of history. But what of Abigail Nims and Josiah Rising?

Up to this moment, from the hour when cruelly roused from the innocent sleep of childhood, they were dragged towards the north, over the snowbound meadows and icy river, this question has been asked in vain. Thanks to the careful records made at the time by Canadian priest and nun, and thanks again to the kind help given me by Canadian priest and nun of to-day we can now follow the fortunes of the two captives, so rudely torn from home and kin.

In the history of New France there is no more interesting and romantic chapter, than that of the life and labors of Marguerite Bourgeois. To bring about the conversion of the savages by giving to their children a Christian education, was her dearest wish. Not only literally but figuratively did she plant the cross on the mountain of Montreal.[2] In 1676, the priests of Saint-Sulpice built a chapel on the mountain and founded there a mission for such Iroquois and others, as wished to settle on the island of Montreal. In 1680, soon after the school for Indian boys was begun at the mission of the mountain, Marguerite Bourgeois sent two nuns of the Congregation there to teach the girls.

In 1685 forty Indian girls were in training at this school. It takes but a moment to tell the story, but the pain, peril and privation, the self-abnegation, the devotion by which this result was achieved, cannot be estimated. This Indian village, palisaded to protect the Christianized Iroquois from the attacks of their savage brethren, who were incensed against the converts, was an out-post of defence for Montreal itself. Destroyed by fire in 1694, through the carelessness

[1]Sara Hoyt.

[2]Vie de Marguerite Bourgeois, Tome I, p. 274.

Fish - Market, Toronto

York.

of a drunken Indian, the fort was rebuilt of stone, with rude towers at each angle, two of which were set apart for the nuns and their school.

In 1701, disturbed by the opportunity afforded the Indians by their nearness to the town of obtaining strong liquors, yet unwilling to deprive Montreal of their help in case of attack from their enemies, the priests removed the mission to the other side of the mountain, to a picturesque spot called Sault au Recollet, on the bank of the Rivière des Prairies. There they built a church, modelled after the Chapel de Notre Dame de Lorette in Italy, and a house for themselves and their school. The Sisters of the Congregation also erected there a building for themselves and for a school for girls.[1] The village and mission building were enclosed by a palisade with three bastions.

It was to the Sault au Recollet fort that our two captives, doubtless with others from Deerfield were carried at once on their arrival in Canada. The squaw Ganastarsi, probably the wife or mother of her captor, gladly took little Abigail into her bark wigwam, and Josiah Rising was led to that of his Macqua master. There they lived in true Indian fashion, rolling in the dirt with the pappooses and puppies with which the village was swarming, and quickly catching the Iroquois language. To Josiah, the savages gave the name of Shoentak8anni of which the French equivalent is *Il lui a ôté son village.*[2] Abigail was known as T8atog8ach, which rendered into French is "*Elle retire de l'eau.*"[3]

[1]It is an interesting fact that Soeur Marie des Anges, the Lady Superior of this mission school, was herself a New England captive. She was Marie Geneviève Sayer [Sayward] taken with her mother and sister, Feb. 5, 1692, at York, Me.

[2]"He has taken away his village."

[3]"She picks something out of the water."

For this and for other valuable assistance, I am indebted to the kindness of Rev. Père Cuoq, the venerable mission priest at Oka, an adept in the Iroquois language, and of more than local renown for his scholarship. C. A. B.

The little four years old English girl, with her uncouth name, her pale face and her yellow hair, did not long escape the notice of the holy sisters of the mission. The following is a translation of her French record of baptism;

"On the 15th day of June of the year 1704, the rites of baptism have been administered by me, the undersigned, to a little English girl, named in her own country Abigail, and now Mary Elizabeth; born in Dearfielde, in New England the 31st of May, of the year 1700, of the marriage of Geoffrey Nimbs cordwainer, and of Meetable Smeed also deceased. The child, taken at the said place the eleventh of March last, and living in the wigwam of a squaw of the Mountain, named Ganastarsi. The god-mother was Demoiselle Elizabeth Le Moine, daughter of Monsieur Charles Le Moine esquire, Baron de Longueuil, chevalier of the order of Saint-Louis, and captain of a company,—with François Bonnet who says that he cannot sign.

Signed Marie Elizabeth Longueuil. Meriel, prêtre."

What the nuns of the Congregation did for little Abigail, was done for Josiah Rising by the good priests of Saint-Sulpice at the Sault au Recollet mission. He was baptized on the 23rd of December, 1706, being then about eleven years old. The name Ignace was given him, and it was as Ignace Raizenne on Canadian records, that I recognized Josiah Rising.

Picture the life of these children at the Indian fort. The dark, cold, smoky wigwam; the scanty clothing in which they had been snatched from home all rags and dirt, replaced at last by a blanket which was their dress by day, their bed at night; coarse and unpalatable food; corn pounded, soaked and boiled in unsavory pottage; roasted pumpkin a rare luxury. Better times came for the poor waifs when they could go to school. There they were decently clad, for Marguerite Bourgeois knew that the first step towards Christianizing any people, is to make them dress decently and to inspire

them with a love of work. "If you can introduce petticoats and drawers into your mission," wrote Monsieur Tronson, "you will make yourself famous; nothing would be more useful, or fraught with better results."[1]

At school, they learned to sing and chant, to read and write and to speak French. The catechism and creed were taught in French, as well as in English and Indian. The girls learned to sew and knit, to spin and make lace. The boys were instructed in carpentry, shoemaking, mason work and other trades.[2]

But Sunday, so gloomy to the children of Puritan households, was the day of days to the girls and boys of the mission. Then Abigail went in procession with the other girls to mass and saw the gorgeous altar cloths and vestments, and the candles burning brightly, and the pictures of the saints, and little Jesus and his mother looking kindly down upon her. She sat close to Sister des Anges, and crossed herself and said her prayers, and felt very good and very happy; only she wished that Shoentak8anni would just look at her; but he sat among the choir boys and sang away and never lifted his eyes from his book.

I like to think of the busy school days and cheerful Sundays of the little New England captives, thus cared for by gentle nun and kindly priest. We must not forget, however, that the "Oso" fort,[3] as the New England captives called the fort at Sault au Recollet, had its sadder pictures.

Sometimes an Indian would come back from the town, enraged by the white man's fire-water, and bringing the news

[1]Lettre de M. Tronson à M. de Belmont, April 15, 1685, in "Viede Marguerite Bourgeois," Vol. I, part II, p. 289.

[2]Vie de Marguerite Bourgeois, Vol. I, part II, p. 289, 292.

[3]The French, doubtless, spoke of visiting this mission as going "Au Sault." [Pronounced O-so.] Hence the English naturally called it the "Oso Fort." A Newbury captive in his narrative calls Sault au Recollet, "Sadrohelly," the nearest approach he could make to the French pronunciation.

that some "Bastonnais" had arrived in Montreal. Every messenger from our government, no matter how far from Boston his home might be, was a "Bastonnais," in Canada.

Then Abigail's master would threaten to carry her into the woods, and Ganastarsi would be very cross, and call her Kanaskwa, the slave,[1] and possibly, give the child a slap in the face,—for she had grown fond of T8atog8ach and did not mean to give her up to the Bastonnais if she could help it. Sister des Anges and the other nuns would seem distressed and anxious, and kept the little girl day and night at the convent, out of sight of any possible English visitors. Abigail was too young to mind much about any of this, but Josiah knew, and I dare say, asked the school master if he might not go home with the messengers. At this the priest would frown and speak sharply to the lad, reproaching him with ingratitude to the Indian who had saved his life. No doubt he would tell the boy what he himself sincerely believed, that if he went back to Protestant New England, his soul would be damned eternally. When Josiah's master heard about this, he beat the boy and sent him off to the woods with a hunting party.

Deacon Sheldon came back from his embassy in 1705 with but five captives, not having even seen his boys, who, he was told, had "gone a honten." Shortly after this, bitterly disappointed at not being allowed to go home with Deacon Sheldon, John Nims, Martin Kellogg, Joseph Petty and Thomas Baker ran away. It went harder with Josiah and the rest after this. Ensign Sheldon must have have kept the Sault au Recollet mission in a stir in the first years of the captivity. He was certainly there twice in the spring of 1706. Among his accounts is an item of 12 livres paid "for a carriall[2] to goe to see the captives at the Mohawk fort," and

[1] Abigail appears once on the records by this name.

[2] A carriole is a Canadian sleigh.

"4 livres more for a second visit." He probably saw Josiah and Abigail at this time, but they were not among those whom he brought home. Grim and direful scenes our two captives saw, when the war parties returned with scalps and prisoners. Then two long rows of savages armed with clubs and hatchets, were formed at the gate of the fort. Between these the weary and footsore captives ran for nearly three-quarters of a mile, the savages mocking and striking at them as they ran. Then came the dreadful pow-wow, when the poor sufferers were made to sing and dance round a great fire, while their tormentors yelled and shrieked. The children saw many of their Deerfield neighbors brought into the fort in this way. Martin Kellogg in the fall of 1708, Josiah's cousin, Mehuman Hinsdell the next spring, and Joseph Clesson and John Arms in June, 1709, all ran the gauntlet at the Oso fort.

After John Sheldon's third journey to Canada in 1707, there had been no general exchange of prisoners. In the summer of 1712, the Canadian governor proposed that the English captives in Canada should be "brought into or near Deerfield, and that the French prisoners should be sent home from thence." Governor Dudley ordered Colonel Partridge to collect the French captives at Deerfield.

There must have been some excitement in the usually quiet town of Deerfield when it was known that the French captives were mustering there, especially when the dogged refusal of some to return to Canada was noised abroad. That Colonel Partridge met with some unexpected obstacles in dispatching the French captives is shown by the following extract from his letter to Governor Dudley:

HATFIELD, July 1, 1712.

"I begg yor Excellency's excuse & tender Resentment. Off our repeated demur & delay of moveing towards Canada by the Frentchmen & o^{r} Messengers, which is wholie by the indisposition of the

Frentchmen, Especially two of them, who will not be p^{r}suaded to go, neither by p^{r}suasions nor force, except they be carried, viz, Cosset & Laffever. the Capt. hath used all means with them, especially Cosset, in so much that I believe if they go into the woods together, they will murder one another before they get to Canada. Cosset positively refusing to go, Chuseing rather to Remayne a prison^{r} all his days, as he saith, rather than go with him. The Captaine vehemently mad with him, as he saith, will kill him & its thought by their violent treatm^{t} one towards another, that murder had been done if o^{r} men had not p^{r}vented itt. They cannot speak together but some fall to blows. . . . . Laffever has been oposite of goeing all a Long & now it comes too positively opposes it, except he be forct. Yesterday I went up to Deref^{d} & two of the Frentchmen orderd him & the Frentchman to attend me in order to their goeing immediately away."[1] . . . . .

When it was known that an escort was to be sent from Deerfield with the French captives, there was no lack of volunteers. Colonel Partridge continues:

"As to Messengers, severall offer themselves to go. . . . . We had pitcht upon Ltt. Williams,[2] with the consent of his ffather, who hath the Frentch tongue, Jonath Wells, Jno Nims & Eliezer Warner, but haveing in yor last letter a forbidd to any of Baker's Company, we pitcht on Lt. Wells, Sergt. Taylor, John Nims & Thomas Frentch, who also hath the Frentch tongue, but think the former most apt. . . . . .

I have had no small fategue in this matter, but ye disappointment hath been on ye Frentchman's p^{t} as aforesaid."

On the above letter was the following endorsement:

"Co'll Partridg : Honn^{d} Sir, I have all along been much against returning home : to Canada : but am now come to a Resolution that I will not go, except the Governor with yourself, doe compell

[1]The adventures of Cosset and Le Févre as well as those of Baptiste, will be narrated later. C. A. B.

[2]Lieut. Samuel Williams, a former captive.

me to return ; which I hope you will not do ; I have an Affection for the people and Countery ; and therefore do not intend to lieue it untill there be a Peace ; and then only for to give my Parents a vissitt and Returne againe. from your humble serv't to command; this is La ffeveres words."

The party under command of Lieut. Samuel Williams,[1] a youth of twenty-three, started from Deerfield on the 10th of July, returning in September with nine English captives.

Godfrey Nims had died some years before. Ebenezer was still in captivity and John Nims evidently went as the head of the family, hoping to effect the release of his brother and sister. I judge that in urging Abigail's return, John made the most of the provision for her in his father's will, as the story goes in Canada, that the relatives of the young Elizabeth, who were Protestants, and were amply provided with this world's goods, knowing that she had been carried to the Sault au Recollet, went there . . . . . and offered a considerable sum for her ransom ; and the savages would willingly have given her up, if she herself had shown any desire to go with her relatives. To her brother's entreaties that she would return with him she replied that she would rather be a poor captive among Catholics, than to become the rich heiress of a Protestant family,[2]—and John came back without his sister and brother. About this time came Abigail's first communion. She walked up the aisle dressed in white, with a veil on her head, and all the people looked at her, and a bad Indian girl muttered, "Kanaskwa," [the slave].

Shoentak8anni, in his white surplice, swinging the censer, ringing the bell and holding up the priest's robe, seemed al-

[1]Lieut. Samuel Williams was chosen Town Clerk in March, 1713, and died the following June. His headstone may be seen in the old burial ground at Deerfield.

[2]The inventory of Godfrey Nims's estate shows that he was not a rich man.

most as grand as a priest himself, and it was all very solemn and very beautiful to the child. That was the summer when Hannah Hurst of Deerfield was married. Marie Kaiennoni, she was called at the Mission. She was seventeen, and Michel Anenharison, a widower of thirty-two. T8atog8ach heard them called in church. She wondered at Marie. Shoentak8anni was ever so much nicer than Michel. I think Father Quéré had his doubts about this match. He urged Marie to leave the Indians altogether, but she declared she wished to live and die among them. Sister des Anges heard her say this often. Father Quéré asked Monsieur Belmont what he ought to do about marrying them, and Monsieur Belmont said she must be treated as if she were really an Indian girl.[1] Then Father Quéré told Thomas Hurst and Father Meriel, and as they did not forbid the banns, he married them.

A year passed. The treaty of Utrecht had been signed. Peace was proclaimed in London, and a grand *Te Deum* sung to Handel's music in St. Paul's Cathedral. In this interval of peace, renewed efforts were made by our government for the recovery of the English captives in Canada. Nothing daunted by the ill success of John Schuyler's mission, Captain John Stoddard and Parson Williams with Martin Kellogg and Thomas Baker as pilots and interpreters, and commissioned by the government to negotiate for the release of the remaining captives, arrived in Canada the middle of February, 1714.[2]

It is a long and tedious business. De Vaudreuil is vacillating and contradictory in his promises. He shirks the responsibility alternately upon the captives who have been formally naturalized; upon his king whom he fears to offend;

[1] "*Une Sauvagesse.*"

[2] They started November, 1713, but were detained ten weeks in Albany till January, 1713-14, on account of warm weather and weak ice.

upon the savages who claim the ownership of many and who he says are his allies, and not his subjects to command. Finally he says that he "can just as easily alter the course of the rivers, as prevent the priests' endeavors to keep the children."

The long sojourn of this embassy, its influence and dignity undoubtedly made a profound impression at the Sault au Recollet mission. What more natural than that Abigail Nims's captor, knowing that the English envoys were insisting on the return of minors and children, and fearing to lose his reward if general terms of release were agreed upon, should have fled with his prize to the Boston government, to secure the money for her ransom before Stoddard's return. This he could have done without the knowledge or consent of Mission priest or nun. Moreover, had they known his purpose, they would have been powerless to prevent its fulfilment.[1]

Whether this theory be correct or not it was before the return of the envoys that Colonel Partridge on the 28th of July, 1714, wrote to the Council at Boston, giving an account of an "outrage in the country of Hampshire," a Macqua Indian, having brought to Westfield and offered for sale, a girl "supposed to be an English captive carried from Deerfield, it appearing so by her own relation and divers circumstances concurring." The Council at once advised that Capt. John Sheldon, then living at Hartford, should be the bearer of a letter to the Indian commissioners at Albany, demanding a strict examination of this matter. The result of Capt. Sheldon's mission is told in the Council Record.[2]

"In Council Aug. 22, 1714. Upon reading a letter from the Commissioners of the Indian affairs at Albany by Capt. John Sheldon,

[1]She had not been bought by them from the savage—she was his by the law of war, to dispose of as he saw fit.

[2]Mass. Archives.

messenger thither, to make inquiries concerning a young Maid or Girle, brought thither into Westfield by a Macqua and offered for sale, very probably supposed to be English and daughter of one [Godfrey] Nims, late of Deerfield, and carried away captive, the Commissioners insisting upon it that she is an Indian:

Ordered, that Samuel Partridge Esq. treat with the Macqua, her pretended Master, and agree with him on the reasonablest terms he can for her release and then dispose her to some good family near the sea side, without charge, for the present to prevent her fears; unless Capt. Sheldon will be prevailed with to take her home with him.

Paid John Sheldon for journey to Boston, from Northampton and back to Albany and back with his son, 17£, 16s, 7d for time and expenses.

In Council, Sept. 20, 1714. Ordered, that the sum of £25. be paid to Elewacamb, the Albany Indian now attending with letters and papers from thence, who claims the English girl in the hands of the English and her Relations at Deerfield, and that a Warrant be made to the Treasurer accordingly. Also that a coat and shirt be given s[d] Indian."

"Here," says Mr. Sheldon in his History of Deerfield, "the curtain dropped. After this not the slightest trace of Abigail Nims was found."

Had the story ended here, it would have been romantic enough; but truth is stranger than fiction.

An interval of eight months elapses, and the curtain rises again:

ACT I.

SCENE I.

A marriage in the church of Notre Dame de Lorette, at the Sault au Recollet fort, on the Island of Montreal.

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ.

ABIGAIL NIMS, *aged fifteen.*
JOSIAH RISING, *aged about twenty-four.*
SOEUR DES ANGES,[1] *and other nuns of the Congregation.*
PÈRE QUÉRÉ, *a Mission priest.*
IROQUOIS INDIANS.

[1]Soeur des Anges was herself a captive. She was Marie Geneviève Sayward of York, Me.

The ceremony is soon ended. Father Quéré records it on the parish register where it stands fair and clear to-day. Here is the translation:

"This 29th July 1715. I have married Ignace Shoentak8anni and Elizabeth T8atog8ach, both English, who wish to remain with the Christian Indians, not only renouncing their nation, but even wishing to live *en sauvages*, Ignace aged about twenty-three or twenty-four years,—Elizabeth about fifteen. Both were taken at Dierfile about thirteen years ago. [Signed] M. Quéré, prêtre S. S."

How Abigail Nims got back again to the Sault au Recollet from Deerfield, is the missing link in the story of her long life. But what more probable than that she should have run away. There is of course a shadow of doubt as to the identity of the captive bought of Elewacamb, with Abigail Nims. The girl had said she was a Deerfield captive: John Sheldon and Colonel Partridge believed her to be Abigail Nims, and had satisfied the governor and council that she was. They had bought her of Elewacamb, paid for her in lawful money and given him a bonus besides. It was not strange that the commissioners at Albany "insisted that she was an Indian." From her babyhood, for eleven years she had lived among the savages, and had become one. An orphan, a stranger, not knowing or caring for her Deerfield relatives, bred a Roman Catholic and irked by the straight-laced customs of the Puritan town and church, hating the restraints of civilized life, homesick and unhappy, pining for the nuns and for her free life in the wigwam of Ganastarsi, fearless and fleet of foot, she may have betaken herself to the woods, and somehow got back to the Macqua fort.

Fancy the joy at the Mission, when the stray lamb returned to the true fold. It was then, as I believe, that the priests, to settle the question forever, with much difficulty obtained the release of T8atog8ach and Shoentak8anni from their Indian masters. "They deserved this favor," says the

historian,[1] "for the odor of virtue which they shed abroad over the mission of which they were the edification and the model." Their speedy marriage and the emphasis laid in the record upon their wish to conform to the Indian mode of life, was to protect them from future importunities for their return to New England.

John Rising of Suffield died Dec. 11, 1719. In his will he bequeaths to his "well-beloved son Josiah, now in Captivity, the sum of five pounds in money to be paid out of my estate within three years after my decease, provided he return from captivity." Josiah Rising and Abigail Nims, his wife, never returned. When in 1721 the mission was transferred to the Lake of the Two Mountains, the priests, charmed with the edifying conduct of Ignace and Elizabeth, with their industry and intelligence in domestic affairs, for their advantage and as an example to the mission at large, resolved to establish them in a permanent home of their own, and accordingly gave them a large domain about half a league from the fort.

There, they served as a pattern to the savages and to all the people round about, of patriarchal life and virtue, by their care in training their children in the fear of God, and in the faithful performance of their religious duties.

Abigail Nims, wife of Josiah Rising, died Feb, 19, 1748. In her last illness, she refused to leave off the hair shirt which she had always worn as penance. She left eight children, six daughters and two sons. Her eldest, Marie Madeleine, was a nun of the Congregation by the name of Sister Saint-Herman. Having learned in childhood the Iroquois language, she was sent as missionary to the Lake of the Two Mountains and there taught Indian girls for twenty-five years. When about ninety, she died in the convent at Montreal.

Four of the daughters of Ignace and Elizabeth Raizenne, married and reared families, many of whose members filled

[1]Abbé Faillon. Vie de Marguerite Bourgeois.

high positions in the Roman Catholic church. I learn from one of the ladies of the Congregation, who was the pupil of one of Abigail Nims's grand-daughters, that she has often heard from this teacher the story of her grandmother's life, and that she always laid particular stress on the fact that she refused to return to Deerfield when sent for.

The eldest son of Ignace and Elizabeth was a priest and *curé* of excellent character and ability. Jean Baptiste Jérome, their younger son, unable to carry out his wish to take orders, married and settled on the domain originally granted to his father. His house was a refuge for the poor, the orphan and the unfortunate. He regulated his household as if it were a religious community. The father and mother rose early and prayed together. Then both went to their respective labor, he to his fields,—she to her ten children. The hours for study, for conversation, for silence and for recreation were fixed by the clock. All the family, parents, children and servants, ate at the same table and while eating, the lives of the Saints were read. After tea the father explained some doctrinal point to children and servants. Then followed prayers and all went silently to bed.

Marie Raizenne, born in 1736, was the most distinguished of Abigail Nims's children. She entered the Community of the Congregation at the age of sixteen, and in 1778, under the name of Mother Saint-Ignace, attained the honor of being its thirteenth Lady Superior. She was deeply religious, full of energy and courage, of extraordinary talents and fine education. She is said to have possessed in a remarkable degree, the real spirit and zeal of Marguerite Bourgeois, and to have sought untiringly to revive this spirit in the community of which she was the head. She died at the age of seventy-six.

Thus again did the blood of the martyrs of Deerfield become the seed of the church of Canada.

A DAY AT OKA.

General Hoyt in his "Antiquarian Researches," writes of the Deerfield captives, "Twenty-eight remained in Canada and mixing with the French and Indians and adopting their manners and customs, forgot their native country and were lost to their friends." The names of the twenty-eight who never came back follow. This list must now be corrected by adding to it the names of the Widow Hurst and her daughter Elizabeth, making thirty in all, and I doubt if the list is yet complete. We may congratulate ourselves to-day, on having found, within the last three years, eighteen of these exiles from home. Would that I could tell you these tales of the captives as they might be told; pathetic, full of incident, and glowing with romance as they are; but I can only transcribe the bare facts of their lives as I find them clearly recorded on the parish records of many a picturesque Canadian village, where they lived, died, and lie buried in nameless graves.

In the settlement of Deerfield, home lots were laid out and granted at Plum Tree Plain, now Wapping, as early as 1685. The little colony at Wapping consisted mostly of young men with their young families, nearly connected by blood

or marriage. Thither came Thomas Hurst, freeman of Hadley, with his wife Sarah.[1]

The people of Plum Tree Plain probably removed for safety to the town street, where Thomas Hurst died in 1702, leaving a family of six children. Among the captives of the 29th of February, 1704, were Widow Sarah Hurst, then about thirty-eight years old, and her children. The youngest was killed on the march. On their arrival in Canada the family was separated, some remaining in Montreal, Thomas and Hannah being sent, with several other Deerfield children, to the mission at the Sault au Recollet or Lorette, on the Rivière des Prairies, on the other side of the island of Montreal.[2] The only one of Thomas Hurst's family who ever came back to New England was Sara, the eldest child.

With nothing to guide me, groping laboriously through pages of old French manuscript in the archives of Quebec, in the portfolios of ancient notaries of Montreal, dead and turned to dust a century and a half ago, in the parish records of both cities, finding here a little and there a little, and putting the disjointed fragments together, I had nearly succeeded in rehabilitating the Hurst family of six Deerfield captives, when I saw that for further knowledge of Thomas and Hannah, I must seek the records of the Oso fort. These were to be found at Oka, the Indian name for the village of the Lake of the Two Mountains on the Ottawa river, whither in 1720 the Sault au Recollet mission had been removed. By early morning train to La Chine[3] where one drops perforce from the 19th to the early 17th century. Here, before 1615, the most important trading post of New

[1]Their homestead was a part of the lot now owned and occupied by Josiah Allen.

[2]"The Oso Fort," it is called in the narratives of New England captives.

[3]La Chine was the Seigniory of La Salle: China, by way of the great river and the West, being his goal.

France was set up by Champlain; and here, to-day, in good preservation, stand the great cobble-stone chimney and oven of Champlain's post, with the broad fireplace, by which Robert de La Salle later sheltered himself until he had built his palisaded village, a mile to the west, on the land granted him by the gentlemen of the Seminary of Saint Sulpice. Opposite me, across Lake Saint Louis, as I stood in the ruined doorway of La Salle's homestead, where he must so often have stood looking longingly westward, were the crumbling ruins of the Mohawk fort, where Eunice Williams and other Deerfield children sobbed out the first months of their captivity, and the low roofs of Caughnawaga, the cross gleaming from its picturesque steeple. Was it the wail of the Deerfield bell, a captive still, that floated faintly above the sullen murmur of the rapids? Who knows? Swan-like our boat glides on to Saint Anne, Bout de l'Isle, Tom Moore's Saint Anne, the house where he wrote his Canadian boat-song, in full view from our steamer. As we round the end of the island, at our right loom up the vine-covered towers of the ruined château de Senneville, the seigniorial mansion of Jacques Le Ber, "a Canadian feudal castle of the 17th century." While in captivity Samuel Williams, the son of the Deerfield minister, lived with Jacques Le Ber, a rich merchant of Montreal, whose château was then in process of building. Back from the river, on a hill, stands the old stone mill of the seignory, not unlike that at Newport, R. I., but more imposing, from its solitary and commanding position. A little to the northwest of the château, "Ottawa's tide" expands into the Lake of the Two Mountains, beyond which the twin mountains form the background of this beautiful picture. Nestling at their base and following the curve of the lake shore, is the Côte, or village of Oka, as the Mission of the Lac des Deux Montagnes is now called.

On a finely wooded point, formed by the double curving

CHAMPLAIN'S TRADING POST AT LA CHINE

LATER OCCUPIED BY ROBERT CAVELIER DE LA SALLE

CHAMPLAIN'S TRADING POST AT LA CHINE

LATER OCCUPIED BY ROBERT CAVELIER DE LA SALLE

of the shore, the site of the ancient Iroquois fort, are the mission buildings, the church and the presbytery or priest's house. The convent stands where it stood in 1720, but the comfortless birch bark cabin, then occupied by Soeur des Anges, and her companion, the two devoted nuns of the Congregation, who gathered here their school of Indian girls, has given place to a modern gray stone building. Here another Sister des Anges, with two assistants, still teaches the little Indian girls their catechism. To her I was introduced by a letter from a nun of the mother house of the Congregation of Montreal, whose friendship is very precious to me. Being herself the descendant of a New England captive, she takes the warmest interest in my work, and does everything in her power to help me. We were cordially received by the Lady Superior, who would not hear of our going to the inn, but gave us a room in the convent. The Sault au Recollet mission was the Canadian home of the two captives, Abigail Nims and Josiah Rising. There they went to school, there they were married; and that their virtues and their piety might be an example to the neighborhood, they were granted by the priests a large domain at the Lake of the Two Mountains, about a half a league from the fort.

"There are farms in Canada," says Mr. Parkman, "which have passed from father to son for two hundred years." The estate given to Ignace Raizenne, by the gentlemen of the Seminary in 1720, having passed from father to son for one hundred and seventy years, is now owned and occupied by Jean Baptiste Raizenne, great-great-grandson of Josiah Rising and Abigail Nims. I therefore left word with the shopkeeper of Oka, that if Mr. Raizenne should come into the village that day, he was to be told that a lady who could tell him about his New England ancestry was at the convent and would like to see him. In half an hour he appeared, and I

am sure that I shall never again be treated with such distinction or welcomed with such frank hospitality as I was by that simple Canadian *habitant*, of which class he is a fine type.

A face of strong character, mobile in expression, with piercing black eyes; quick of apprehension, alert in manner, rapid in speech and gesture, with a lithe, agile and nervous frame. Naive, unconscious and enthusiatic, he showed the greatest delight in meeting one who came from the home of his remote ancestry, of whom he is very proud.

We gladly yielded to his desire that we should go with him to visit his "*propriété*." First, however, to the records. After dinner I presented myself at the Presbytery.

With the Apostle to the Indians at Oka, I had had an interesting correspondence, yet I had not been able to decipher his name, and had I known that he is a savant, considered the best living authority on the Iroquois language, I should hardly have presumed to make such demands as I have, upon his time and patience. This venerable father is as modest, kindly and simple as he is learned, and I owe him much. The greatest are always the simplest. Great poems, great pictures, great music, and great men.

The most careful reader of the mission records in Canada, finds, at the outset, an impenetrable veil shrouding their precious secrets, in the fact that the captives on arriving at the mission with their savage captors, were adopted into Indian families, receiving Indian surnames. Added to this, at their baptism by the mission priests, in nine cases out of ten, the names of their French sponsors, or of the saints of the Catholic church, are substituted for the Christian names given to them at their baptism in New England. It is only by the most persistent pursuit of isolated facts, hints, dates and names, through register after register, collating, and comparing them, that one finally evolves the stories of the captives.

These records are like the photographer's negative. They require patient and skilful manipulation and developing. At first all is a blank, a haze. By straining a little in one part, restraining a little in another, the picture begins to come, and when it does come, its contrasts of light and shade surprise and thrill one. The photographic distinctness of every detail of these lives, which, hidden from sight for nearly two centuries, are now suddenly revealed almost takes one's breath away. For example, when I first struck the trail of Abigail Nims, she was baptized as Elizabeth in Montreal and was said to be "living in the cabin of a squaw of the mountain." Of the Mission of the mountain, and its successive transference to the Sault au Recollet and to the Lake of the Two Mountains I then knew nothing. As I chased her from record to record, the little Elizabeth flitted before me like an elf, appearing as Elizabeth Stebin, Elizabeth Kanaskwa, Elizabeth Sahiak, Elizabeth T8atog8ach. When I finally ran her down as Elizabeth Naim, married to a fellow-captive, Ignace Raizenne, I had no difficulty in recognizing the two little playmates who were living opposite each other in Deerfield on the morning of Feb. 29, 1704. My first clue to the Deerfield Hursts at Oka, on the Sault au Recollet records, was the birth of a son to Michel Anenharison and Marie Kawennaenni. This Marie I found to be Hannah Hurst. Doubtless her descendants still live at Oka.

At four o'clock, Jean Baptiste Raizenne drove to the convent gate. We clambered over the great wheels, into the *habitant's* cart, a revised edition of our dump cart, and taking his little daughter Guilhelmine between us, we set out for the old homestead of Abigail Nims and Josiah Riseing. Though it was October, the sun was warm, and the sky and river a summer blue. Leaving the village, our road lay over high sand dunes, the relic of some old sea beach of the ancient continent. To stay these shifting sands, which are

alike an ornament and a protection to the village, the Curé an intelligent and agreeable man, has planted on their slopes this year forty thousand young pine trees.

As we ploughed through these great drifts up and down, there was no sound but that of the sand sifting through our wheels and the sad murmur of the pines. At the foot of a tall black cross, planted in the yellow expanse of the plateau, an oasis in the desert, as it were, knelt a group of pilgrims on their way to the mountain chapel of Calvary.

As we struck into the primeval forest Jean Baptiste began to chatter with the volubility of a Frenchman. "*Voici la propriété du pauvre Ignace!*" "This is the estate of poor Ignace," he cried. "This road the captive made with his own hands." When we came in sight of the house, his excitement was intense. "*Marche, donc vite!*" "Go on quick!" he shouted to his horse, and to me, "*Voilà la vieille maison, la maison d'Ignace! oh, que je l'aime!*" "There is the old house, Ignace's house! oh, how I love it!" And it was "*voilà*" this, and "*voilà*" that, and finally, "*Voilà le bébé!*" as the little toddling thing met us at the kitchen door, and here we were under the very roof-tree of the two captives.

I shall not attempt to describe my feelings. I was dazed and overwhelmed with memories of the far-off past. Mr. Raizenne's pretty wife and old mother received us without embarassment, and urged us to prolong our visit. We drank to the memory of the captives, and to the health and prosperity of their descendants, in wine made from vines originally planted by Ignace. We tasted water from his well; we ate apples from the sole survivor of his orchard. The climax of the afternoon's enjoyment for Jean Baptiste was reached when he presented to us his only son, a chubby boy of nine, named Riseing Raizenne. After taking a photograph of the place, and leaving little Guilhelmine in tears at our departure, we drove back to the village.

HOMESTEAD OF JOSIAH RISEING AND ABIGAIL NIMS

AT THE LAKE OF THE TWO MOUNTAINS STILL OCCUPIED BY THEIR DESCENDANTS

The peace and quiet of the convent were grateful after the exciting emotions of the afternoon. We begged Mother des Anges not to condemn us to another solitary meal, and after some hesitation, she kindly allowed us to take our tea with the nuns. Loyalty to our hostess forbids me to dwell on the spiritual and material delights of that repast.

In New England, the sunset hour is usually marked by an outburst of noise from the youth of the village. Not so at Oka. The whole place shows the sobering, orderly influence of the little Christian community in its midst. We sat on the doorsteps of the convent talking low with the Sisters. The soft air was redolent with the odors of heliotrope and mignonette from the garden below us. The river, still as the face of a mirror, reflected the splendor of the afterglow. Under the Lombardy poplars in the presbytery grounds, the aged mission priest walked slowly up and down, reading his breviary. Now and then, a blanketed figure stole silently past, on her way to say her evening prayer in the church. One by one the stars came out and the gleam of a brilliant planet left a silvery wake upon the water. The stillness of the midsummer night was broken only by the leaping of the fish at some swiftly skimming insect, the subdued voices of the Indian boys, and the sound of their paddles, as they glided by in their canoes.

The peaceful beauty of the whole scene; the absolute quiet of the village; the convent with its atmosphere of calm content; the serenity and repose of the low voiced nuns; the tranquillity of nature,—all conspired to make the hour a dream of Heaven.

But all things must have an end, and so this memorable day at Oka. We went over in the morning to say farewell to the reverend father and the *curé*, and as the presbytery was undergoing repairs and the grounds were necessarily open, they kindly gave us leave to stroll under the magnifi-

cent trees. As we stood with them for a moment under the cross, beneath which is a cannon, on the extreme point of their land, I rallied the *curé* on the incongruity of a cannon in the domain of apostles of the Prince of Peace. "It is to shoot Pagans" he replied quickly. "Since that is its use," said my companion, "It is lucky for us that we are on this side of it." "But mademoiselle," he answered with ready wit, "we do not shoot heretics, we pray for them." And so we said good-bye.

MO-HON-GO.

AN OSAGE WOMAN.

THANKFUL STEBBINS.

John Stebbins, son of John of Northampton, and grandson of Rowland Stebbins, founder of the family in America, was one of the earliest inhabitants of Deerfield, Mass., at its permanent settlement. He was a carpenter by trade ; a soldier under Capt. Lothrop, through Philip's war, and, according to Mr. Sheldon, "the only man known to have come out whole from the massacre at Bloody Brook." His homestead in Deerfield was that known to the present generation as David Sheldon's. In the assault of Feb. 29, 1703-4, his house was burned, and he and his wife with their six children, ranging in age from five to nineteen, were carried captives to Canada, whence the father, mother and eldest child returned to Deerfield.

How Abigail, the girlish bride of Jacques de Noyon,—one of three Canadian bush-rangers unaccountably living in Deerfield at the time of the attack,—thus doubly a captive, went with him to his boyhood's home in Boucherville ; how later, she sent her eldest child, René, a lad of ten, with a hunting party of French and Indians, to visit his grandparents in Deerfield ; how, on the return of the hunters,

René stayed behind, and grew up there as Aaron Denio, inheriting his mother's share of his grandfather's estate; how Abigail, his mother, after her father's death, probably accompanied by her brother Samuel, returned to keep the twenty-second anniversary of her marriage and her capture, with her widowed mother; how, though Deerfield records are silent concerning the interesting event, the parish priest of Boucherville, records the baptism there,[1] of Marie Anne, her thirteenth child. All this is a twice told tale, and romantic enough to bear twice telling.

The following is a literal translation from the records at Boucherville, of the baptism of the little Marie Anne:

"On the 5th of November 1726. M. Meriel, Seminary Priest of Ville-Marie, in the presence of me the undersigned priest, *curé* of Boucherville, has baptized in the parish church of Sainte-Famille at Boucherville, Marie Anne, daughter of Jacques Denoyons and Gabrielle Stebben married and living at Boucherville, who was born on the 27th of February of the same year at Guerfil in New England. The godfather was Pierre Arrivée . . . . . the godmother Gabrielle Denoyons wife of Nicolas Binet and sister of the infant.

[Signed] Meriel Prêtre.

R. de la Saudraye,

Curé de Boucherville."

Samuel Stebbins probably remained in Deerfield. His name does not appear in Canada. Of his young brother Ebenezer, nothing has been found later than his baptism in Boucherville as Jacques Charles.

In General Hoyt's Antiquarian Researches we read that "A gentleman who recently resided in Montreal, stated that at the Lake of the Two Mountains, near the mouth of Grand

[1]This record shows that Abigail Stebbins de Noyon was doubtless in Deerfield on the twenty-second anniversary of her marriage there, and that the little Marie Anne was born there two days before the twenty-second anniversary of the massacre.

W. H. Bartlett

Chaudière falls

(near Quebec)

River, he saw a French girl, who informed him that her grandmother was Thankful Stebbing, who was one of the captives taken from Deerfield in 1704."

Since the day of her capture we have had till now only this echo faintly sounding through the ages.

One October day, I had lingered long over the portrait of Bishop Plessis, in the sacristy of the parish church of Saint-Rochs, a suburb of Quebec. The sunset gun boomed from the citadel. Broad-hatted peasant women chattered noisily, as late from market they bumped along homeward in their quaint little carts. I was hurrying up the steep zigzags to the upper town, when I saw in a tailor's window, a pile of old pamphlets. Hoping to find among them some printed memorial of Plessis, I entered. "You are then a bibliophile?" was the eager question of the handsome young tailor in answer to my enquiry. Without waiting for my answer, he urged me to visit his private library, and I followed him to his dwelling above the shop, and was ushered into a long narrow room, with bare floor and no furniture but a common table and two wooden chairs. The back of the kitchen stove protruded through the wall at one end, the usual arrangement for heating two rooms in Canadian houses. At the opposite end a large window. The two long sides of the room, literally lined with the rarest books in choice editions, and elegant bindings. The pride of the young shopman in his books, and his delight at my surprise, were interesting. He flew from drawer to drawer, pulling out here a rare engraving, there an autograph. Finally he tossed me a ragged scrap of discolored paper. "What is it?" I asked. "Oh, nothing much,—autographs," he said laconically. "Vaudreuil and Raudot, Governor-General and Intendant of Canada." The names were suggestive. The paper, dated Quebec, Oct. 30, 1706, proved to be the petition of certain English and Dutch in Canada for naturalization. I ran my eye down the list:

Louis Marie Strafton,
Pierre Augustin Litrefield,
Christine Otesse,
Elizabet Price,
Elizabeth Casse,
Mathias Claude Farnet,
Madeline Ouarem,
Thomas Hust,
Marie Françoise French,
Thérèse Steben.

How many desolate homes these names recalled. Too well I knew them all, disguised as they were by their French names.

Amended the list would read:

Charles Trafton of York, Me.
Matthew Farnsworth of Groton, Mass.
Aaron Littlefield of Wells, Maine.
Grizel Warren and Margaret Otis, wife and child of Richard Otis, blacksmith, of Dover, N. H.
Thomas Hurst,
Freedom French,
Thankful Stebbins.
Elizabeth Price,
Elizabeth Corse,

All of Deerfield.

Fancy these New England boys and girls, baby Otis and the rest of them, wrecked on a foreign strand by the storms of war, beseeching his Majesty, the High and Mighty Louis XIV, to be graciously pleased to grant them citizenship, declaring that they have established themselves in His colony of Canada, and that they wish to live and die in the Holy Roman Catholic faith. Much excited by my discovery, I sat there in the twilight and told the story of these captives to the little French tailor.

This was my first introduction to Thankful Stebbins, citizen of Canada, robbed of her Puritan name, member of the Apostolic church in good standing.

A year elapsed. I found her next at Boucherville in 1708, Thérèse already, and godmother to one of her sister Abigail's children. The record of her baptism not there, nor yet her marriage; neither at Boucherville, nor at Montreal, nor at

Quebec. Yet Thérèse she was, and a grandmother she was to be, (according to General Hoyt,) before my quest could cease.

On the parish register of Longueuil, the old Seigniory of Charles LeMoyne, stands the following:

February 4th, 1711, After the publication of the usual banns made at the mass in the church of La Sainte-Famille at Boucherville, on the 25th of January and the 1st and 2nd of February, to which no legal impediment has been found, I the undersigned, priest, *curé* of Boucherville, have married in the aforesaid parish church of Boucherville, Adrien grain, called La Vallée, inhabitant of chambly, aged 23 years, son of the deceased Charles le grain, and louyse la fortune living, inhabitant of Chambly to Thérèse louyse Stebens, aged 21 years,[1] daughter of John Stebens and Dorothy Alexander his wife, inhabitants of the village of Guiervil in New England, and have given them the nuptial benediction in presence of Joseph Maillot, cousin of the groom, of Sieur Jacques de Noyon, brother-in law of the bride, and others.

Thus at last Thankful Stebbins of Deerfield, our little petitioner for citizenship, having obtained her naturalization papers in 1710, under her new name of Thérèse Louise did "establish herself in His Majesty's colony of Canada," as the wife of Adrian le Grain, nicknamed La Vallée, *habitant* soldier of Chambly.

In my rambles among the records, there have been many red letter days, notably that at Chambly, in search of Thankful Stebbins, wife of Adrian Le Grain, bride in her 19th year and grandmother to be.

In the time schedules of suburban service on Canadian railways, the interest of the tourist is neglected. Properly enough, trains are run for the accommodation of the rustics, who must be in the city at early morn and out in the late afternoon. This prevents the student from looking up the parish records, even if he or she were bold enough to face

[1]Her actual age was nineteen.

the possibilities of a night in a Canadian village inn. However, the will makes the way, and one who is not too nice, may avail himself of a mixed train, heavy freight with a comfortless caboose attached, and crawl to his destination at the rate of six miles an hour, subject to tiresome waits at intervening stations.

However we go from village to village, up and down the noble river, we can never forget that we are treading the path once trodden by our footsore and sorrowing kinsfolk, listening to the same accents, that fell so strangely on the ears of the forlorn and homesick captives.

In 1665, the Marquis de Tracy arrived in Quebec as Lieutenant-General of Canada. The famous Carignan regiment had been given him by the king with orders to subdue or destroy the Iroquois. "The Mohawks and Oneidas were persistently hostile, making inroads into the colony by way of Lake Champlain and the Richelieu, murdering and scalping and then vanishing like ghosts."

Tracy immediately built a picket fort at the foot of the rapids of the Richelieu. Sorel, an officer of the Carignan, later built a second fort at the mouth of the river, where now is the town of Sorel; and Salières, "colonel of the regiment, added a third fort two or three leagues above that at the rapids." No fort, however, could "bar the passage against the nimble and wily warriors who might pass them in the night, shouldering their canoes through the woods," and Tracy prepared to march in person against the Mohawks with all the force of Canada. This expedition against the Mohawks is the subject of one of Mr. Parkman's finest pictures, and, says that author,[1] "was of all the French expeditions against the Iroquois the most productive of good." Tracy's work being done, four companies of the splendid reg-

[1] Parkman. Old Régime.

iment were left in garrison, and the Marquis with the rest of "the glittering *noblesse* in his train," went back to France. Many of the officers, however, weary of their life in the corrupt French court, and stimulated by promises and money from the king, who had the peopling of the colony much at heart, remained to marry and settle in Canada.

The lands along the Richelieu were allotted in large seigniorial grants among these officers, who in turn granted out the land to their soldiers. "The officer thus became a kind of feudal chief, and the whole settlement a permanent military cantonment." . . . . . "The disbanded soldier was practically a soldier still, but he was also a farmer and a landholder."[1] Tracy's picketed fort below the rapids of the Richelieu, then known as Fort Pontchartrain, with the land adjacent, was awarded to Captain de Chambly. After his death the seigniory of Chambly passed to Marie de Thauvenet, his betrothed or his sister-in-law,[2] through whom her husband, François Hertel "The Hero," father of Hertel de Rouville, became its owner, being known thereafter as Hertel de Chambly.

From that day to this, Chambly has been closely connected with our history. The fort was the point of departure and arrival for most of the expeditions against New England. Hardly a New England captive but was at some time sheltered within its walls.

On Saturday, probably March 25, 1704, Parson Williams[3] of Deerfield says :

"We arrived near noon at Shamblee, a small village where is a garrison and fort of French soldiers. This village is about fifteen miles from Montreal. The French were very kind to me. A gentleman of the place took me into his house and to his table, and

[1]Parkman. Old Régime.

[2]Authorities differ on this point.

[3]Redeemed Captive. Sixth Edition, MDCCC, p. 31.

lodged me at night on a good feather bed. The Inhabitants and officers were very obliging to me the little time I stayed with them, and promised to write a letter to the governor in chief, to inform him of my passing down the river. Here I saw a girl taken from our town, and a young man, who informed me that the greater part of the captives were come in, and that two of my children were at Montreal."

Many of the Deerfield captives had reached Chambly three weeks before Mr. Williams's arrival. His son Stephen did not arrive there till the next August. There the French were kind to him. They gave him bread, which he had not tasted before since his capture, and dressed his wounded feet;—and later, Hertel de Chambly tried to buy him from his savage master. Quentin Stockwell stayed four days at Chambly, and was kindly treated by the French, who gave him hasty pudding and milk with brandy, and bathed his frozen limbs with cold water. One young Frenchman gave the poor sufferer his own bed to lie on, tried to buy him, and went with him to Sorel, to protect him from abuse by the Indians.

Chambly was a village of but ten houses when Ben Waite and Stephen Jennings hurried through it, in agonizing search for their beloved ones, whom they found in the Indian lodges not far away.

I will not attempt to describe my feelings, as I walked alone through the village of Chambly on my way to the priest's. Aside from its associations, Chambly has a beauty of its own. A long line of Lombardy poplars defines the *côte* of Chambly, which with its low, red roofs and broadly overhanging eaves, goes straggling along the bend of the swift-flowing river. Opposite, two picturesque mountains, then gorgeous in their autumnal colors, complete the circle formed by the lake-like expanse, called Chambly Basin.

Half way round, the circle is broken by the river, which comes roaring and tumbling down, in a series of rapids, at the foot of which the ruins of the fort which in 1711 succeeded Tracy's palisade, advance boldly into the current.

The *curé* received me with a kindness which seems from the days of the captivity to have become habitual to the place, and I was soon absorbed in the records.

They begin in 1706, and on one of the first pages stands the baptism of Thankful Stebbins. The spelling and the grammar of the original would puzzle a schoolgirl of to-day. The following is a literal translation:

"This 23d of April 1707 I, Pierre Dublaron officiating in the parish of Chambly, certify that I have administered the rite of baptism to Louise Thérèse Steben, English girl and baptized in England. (sic) Her godfather and godmother were Monsieur Hertel, Seignieur de Chambly and Madame de Perygny, wife of the commandant of the fort of Chambly."

[Signed] Hertel de Chambly, Louise de Perygny.

As we have already seen, it was in February, 1711, that Thankful or Thérèse Louise Stebbins was married in the parish church of Boucherville to Adrian le Grain. In March, 1713, her first child Françoise Thérèse was baptized at Chambly. The child's godparents were Hertel de Beaulac and Thérèse, wife of Hertel de Niverville. In due succession follow William, Marie Jeanne, Marie, Charlotte, Isabelle, Antoine and Marie Thérèse. On the 4th of July, 1729, Véronique, the ninth and last child of Adrian le Grain and Louise Thérèse Stebbins, was born and baptized. Two children of Abigail Stebbins de Noyon[1] stood by their little cousin at her baptism, and just a week after followed Thankful Steb-

[1]Baptiste de Noyon and his married sister Marie-Gabrielle de Noyon, wife of Nicolas Binet.

bins to her last resting place on earth. She was only thirty-eight years old when the end came.[1]

My labors for her were finished. Listlessly turning the leaves of the register, I found the marriage of her brother, Joseph Stebbins, and learned from the *curé* that there are still in his parish descendants of Joseph, possibly also of Thankful. Fifty minutes to train time. Too little to prove my kinship to my new found cousins, if found. Enough perhaps to give me a nearer view of the old fort. Could I reach it? Father Le Sage, glancing at the muddy road, at me, impeded by my weight, and my long skirts, prudently answers, "I have done it in twenty minutes."

The cassock notwithstanding, thought I, and bade him a hasty adieu. The little children stared and the little dogs barked, as I flew through the town. Nor stopped I, nor stayed I, till trying a short cut to the fort, I crossed a swollen creek, on a shaky plank, and brought up breathless at a high picket fence, painted black and bearing the date 1707.

By a special Providence my steps had been led to the ancient burying ground of the Seigniory. Wading through the wiry, brown grass, plunging into pitfalls, caught among the brambles and stumbling over hummocks and half buried fragments of old head-stones, I ran about the place. Would the grave give up its dead? Should I find here any of the lost ones of Deerfield?

No answer came to my eager question. Time and the annual overflow of the turbulent river, have levelled all the mounds. Here and there, a deeply furrowed slab of weathered oak, in form and color like the slates of our own old burying ground, totters to its fall, not a jot of its legend remaining. Two gaunt wooden crosses, lately reared by the

[1]The death of Thankful Stebbins is thus briefly recorded immediately after the baptism of her child: "The burial of the wife of Charles le grain, July 11, 1729.

FORT PONTCHARTRAIN AT CHAMBLY

PALISADE ENCLOSING BURIAL GROUND WHERE THANKFUL STEBBINS SLEEPS

reverent hand of the village antiquary,[1] to whose zeal we owe also the preservation of the ruins of the fort, recall some noted names of the old Régime. Here lies Marie de Thauvenet, the fair devotee, who came with Mother Mary of the Incarnation to dedicate herself to the education of the Indian girls of Canada.

Turned from her purpose by the fascinations of a handsome young captain in the Carignan regiment, she became his betrothed. Bereft of her lover by death, so runs the tale, and inheriting his fortune, she became the lady of Chambly, which with her hand, she bestowed upon the hero, François Hertel. Her romantic life ended here in 1708.

The other cross commemorates the death in 1740, of the wife of their son, Hertel de Beaulac.

Three or four small tablets of wood affixed above high water mark, to the fence posts of the enclosure, bear the names and date of death of French soldiers.

What gracious impulse had led the same kind hand to write there this name and date, unknown to fame:

Thérèse Steben.

1729.

So I came to the last page of the story. Back and forth the shuttle flying had carried the thread weaving the web of her life. Deerfield to Chambly, Chambly to Boucherville and back again to Chambly. Warp and woof, in texture firm and colors bright and clear,—a tale so plain that the dullest might have followed it.

Carried in her thirteenth year by Hertel de Rouville, or one of his three young brothers, who marched with him to Deerfield, to the fort at Chambly in the Seigniory of their father, Thankful Stebbins was given in charge to one of the ladies of the Hertel family, and probably domiciled in the Hertel mansion.

[1]Mr. J. F. Dion.

The seigniory was well stocked with sheep and cattle and the house was a good one. It brings us very near to the Old Régime in Canada, to remember that François Hertel the Hero, and Marie de Thauvenet, his wife, must have talked with the child and questioned her about her home and people. Unable to comprehend or pronounce her outlandish name, the family of the Seignior, perhaps induced by the similarity of the initial letters, called her Thérèse, after the wife of Hertel de Niverville. Becoming fond of the child, wishing to keep her in Canada and conscientiously believing that her salvation depended on her becoming a good Catholic, they put her name on the list of petitioners for naturalization in 1706.

The next year, Father Dublaron baptized her in the chapel of the fort, her godfather being either the Hero himself, or his son. Her godmother, Louise de Perygny, wife of the commandant of the fort, added her own name to that by which the girl was already well known in the neighborhood. We may fancy the feelings of the maiden of sixteen on that summer day of the same year, when she saw Mr. Sheldon, Nathaniel Brooks and Edward Allen of Deerfield, with seven more redeemed captives, escorted by young Hertel de Chambly and five French soldiers, set out from the fort for home. Standing on the very spot nearly two centuries later, I seemed to hear the plaintive voice of the girl pleading with the Captain, (Hertel de Chambly,) to let her go with them, and her bitter wailings when the boat put out from shore without her.

It was, perhaps, to spare her the recurrence of such scenes, that she was sent to Boucherville in 1708 to live with her sister Abigail. Here she gradually resigned herself to her lot.

Citizenship with all its privileges and penalties having been graciously accorded to her in 1710 by His Majesty,

Louis XIV, she married the following year, Charles Adrian le Grain, *habitant* soldier of Chambly, returning there to live with him.

There I find her faithful friend Thérèse, wife of Hertel de Niverville, with Hertel de Beaulac[1] standing as sponsors to her first child, and there at the birth of her ninth child, she died in 1729. The spirit of the unredeemed captive, ransomed at last and safe in its eternal home, her dust lies there with that of the old *noblesse*, her friends and protectors.

Gentle breezes whisper softly among the grass that waves above the sod; the rapids of the Richelieu cease their angry roaring as they draw near the spot; and the beautiful river sings its sweetest cadence as it flows by the place where Thankful Stebbins sleeps.

[1]The frequent connection of the Hertel family with the Deerfield captives in Canada is interesting.

A SCION OF THE CHURCH IN DEERFIELD.

JOSEPH-OCTAVE PLESSIS, FIRST ARCHBISHOP OF QUEBEC.

Written for the Two Hundreth Anniversary of the founding of the Church in Deerfield.

The church in Deerfield, as in all our New England plantations, is coeval with the town. The plan of the eight thousand acre grant[1] being laid before the General Court in 1665, was approved and allowed, "provided that they maynetayne ye ordinances of Christ there, once within five years. When in 1673, discouraged at the slow settlement of Pocumtuck, Samuel Hinsdell, Samson Frary and others, petitioned the General Court for liberty to cut loose from the mother town,[2] and order all their own prudentiall affairs," permission was given them, "provided that an able and orthodox minister within three years be settled among them."

These requisites of ability and orthodoxy were easily found in the person of a Harvard graduate, young Samuel Mather of Dorchester, nephew of Increase, and cousin of Cotton Mather, the famous Boston preachers. "If God should

[1]See the "Difficulties and Dangers of a Frontier Settlement.

[2]Dedham.

From a portrait of

MGR. JOSEPH-OCTAVE PLESSIS

GRANDSON OF MARTHA FRENCH THE CAPTIVE

be provoked by the unthankfulness of men, to send the plague of an unlearned ministry on New England," writes Cotton Mather, "soon will the wild beasts of the desart live there, and the houses will be full of doleful creatures, and owls will dwell there."

This ancient town has never been stricken by the plague of an unlearned ministry. From Samuel Mather to the present day, her ministers have been able, and I venture to say, orthodox in the best sense of that word.

It is probable that the first gathering of the church in Deerfield was in the garrison house of Quentin Stockwell, where the boy-preacher boarded. This house stood on the site now occupied by the parsonage of the second church. Meeting-House Hill is named, in John Pynchon's account book, as early as 1673. From the same source, we learn that Worshipful John, who held much good land in Pocumtuck, paid there in 1675 a rate for the minister's house, and also for "ye little House for a Meeting house, that y^{a} Meet in."

Years passed. Mr. John Williams, another youthful graduate of Harvard, was "encouraged" to turn his back upon the more alluring fields of the Bay settlements, and cast his lot among the pioneers of this frontier town, "to dispense the Blessed word of Truth unto them."

"Att a legall Town Meeting in Deerf^{d}, Oct. 30., 1694, Ensign John Sheldon Moderator that there shall be a meeting house Built in deerfield, upon the Town charge voted affirmatively : That there shal be a comitty chosen and impowered to agree with workmen to begin said building forthwith, and carry it on fast as may be: voted affirmatively

That ye meetinghouse shal be built ye bigness of Hatfield meeting house, only ye height to be left to ye judgment and determination of ye comitty voted affirmatively." . . . . .

We cannot too often rebuild the little hamlet as it was on that Sunday morning in February, when for the last time,

the faithful shepherd gathered his whole flock within the fold. North of Meeting-House Hill, on the west side of the street, lived Daniel Belding on the old Stebbins place. John Stebbins's lot was the home of Lieut. and Deacon David Hoyt; I know not which of his titles to put first, as both were then of equal value to the little community. Ebenezer Brooks then held the homestead of the Deerfield Antiquary. On the east, John Stebbins and his good wife Dorothy, dwelt on what we know as the David Sheldon place. Martin Kellogg was their next neighbor. On the knoll now occupied by Mrs. Allen, lived Hannah Beaman, ever to be remembered as the good school dame of the early settlement, and a generous benefactor of the town. At the south, was the picketed house of Lieut. Jonathan Wells, the boy hero, whose valor in the Falls Fight made his name illustrious. Philip Mattoon's family lived on Mrs. George Wells's lot, and the widow Smead, in the old house still standing opposite Mrs. Elizabeth W. Champney's. These, and many others equally worthy of remembrance, lived outside the stockade.

The fortification enclosed the whole of Meeting-House Hill, including the present sites of both churches. Towards the northwest corner of the palisade, was the well-built house of Ensign John Sheldon, the "Old Indian House" of our childhood.

Where Lincoln Wells's homestead is now, stood the dwelling of Benoni Stebbins, forever to be venerated as the spot where he, and six other brave men, nobly aided by the women, "stood stoutly to y'r armes . . . . . with more than ordinary couridge," says an eye witness of that dreadful day. As our school books mistake the old Indian House for the home of the Rev. John Williams, it is well that Deerfield children should be reminded that Parson Williams lived next south of Benoni Stebbins. The well that stood in his yard just west of the present Academy, is still in use. From the

St. Johns.—Richlieu River.

minister's to Mehuman Hinsdell's,[1] there were no houses except perhaps a few rude structures, built for those families who, having homes outside, fled for shelter within the palisades in time of danger. The lot next south of Hinsdell's was held by Mr. John Richards, schoolmaster. Opposite, was old Godfrey Nims's; and next at the north, Samson Frary built the house in 1698 which is still standing.[2] Nims and Frary were two of the first three settlers in Deerfield. Next north of Samson Frary lived Mr. John Catlin. His son-in-law, Thomas French, on the lot adjoining, now owned by the Second Church. In the northeast corner of the stockade,[3] was Samuel Carter's house.

Equi-distant from the houses of Benoni Stebbins and Ensign Sheldon, a few rods northwest of the soldiers' monument, stood the meeting house, a square, two-story building, with pyramidal roof surmounted by a turret, tipped with a weather-cock. In the front was a low, wide door, with a broad window on either side, and corresponding windows above from the galleries.

Sunday morning, Feb. 27, 1703-4 dawned bright and fair. One of those severe storms, which are so often the immediate forerunner of the breaking up of winter, had covered the ground with snow, to the depth of three feet on a level. A "sort of house" which Benjamin Munn had dug out and boarded over as a shelter for his family, in Mr. Richards's hillside, was hidden by the drifts. A little rain, and a gusty night had followed, a hard and glittering crust had formed, and the dead twigs lay scattered far and wide over its surface. Yet there was cheer in the air and sky, and though the mountain loomed black against the horizon, that tender

[1]Now Mrs. Whiting's.

[2]The oldest house in the Connecticut Valley. Restored in 1892 by a descendant. C. A. B.

[3]Now owned by Mrs. Yale.

flush that shows the stir of the sap in every bush seemed to soften its outline. The brooks babbled joyously through the ice-bound swamps. The shrill crowing of cocks echoed from neighboring barn yards. The crows screamed noisily from the bare branches, as they wheeled from tree to tree in the meadows. There was spring in the air and in the hearts of the people as, at beat of drum, they slowly and decorously wended their way to meeting. Climbing the hill from both ends of the town plat, they passed through the gates of the palisade, and filing silently into the meeting house took their allotted places on the long wooden benches. At the right of the preacher are the men: first the town officers and aged men who have formerly served in that capacity; then those who hold any military rank. Behind them such as are known in the community as "Mr." or "Dr.," and finally all the rest of the men, with due regard to age, estate and place. Their wives occupy corresponding seats on the left of the broad aisle. The young men and maidens go quietly by separate stairs to the gallery, where a high railing separates them. They look down with curiosity, and perhaps envy, upon the three young couples lately joined in holy wedlock, who shyly pass up the broad aisle, to rear seats in the body of the meeting-house, to which marriage has promoted them. A sense of strangeness, and a half homesick longing for the old Chicopee meeting-house, lends a shade of sadness to the face of Hannah Chapin, but a glance from her manly husband, young John Sheldon, reassures her. Elizabeth Price shows a consciousness of having somewhat outraged public opinion by her marriage with "the Indian." Abigail Stebbins has a self-complacent air, mingled with pride and satisfaction, which stings the heart of many a youth in the gallery,—while her husband, Jacques de Noyon, bears himself with an air of saucy superiority and triumph, and evidently submits with ill grace to the tedious solemni-

W. H. Bartlett. S. Bradshaw

Lake Massawhippy

Eastern Townships

ties of the Puritan Sabbath. The boys are ranged on benches against the walls under the windows; the little children on the floor near their mothers. Below the pulpit and raised some steps above the floor, on a long bench facing the congregation, sit the two deacons, Lieut. David Hoyt and Ensign John Sheldon. The garrison soldiers are seated near the great door with bandoliers on shoulder and matchlocks close at hand. The seats were hard, the service long, the meeting-house cold and gloomy, but the piety of our fathers was fervid,—and warmed and comforted, the people dispersed.

Among the dignitaries on the foremost seats of the meeting-house that day, were Mr. John Catlin and his daughter's husband, Thomas French, the town clerk.

Mr. John Catlin, born in Weathersfield, Conn., in 1643, and married there at the age of twenty-four, to Mary, daughter of Joseph Baldwin, had been an early settler at Branford, Conn., whence he removed to Newark, N. J. He was a leading man in church and town affairs in Branford and Newark. He stands on Newark records in 1678 as "Town's Attorney," and is spoken of as "an honest brother to take care that all town orders be executed, and if a breach occurs to punish the offender." He was one of the selectmen of Newark from 1676 to 1681. In 1683 he was in Hartford, where, the same year, his oldest daughter, Mary Catlin, married Thomas, son of John French, formerly of Rehoboth, Mass., but then of Northampton.

Thomas French and his father-in-law, John Catlin, probably came together to Deerfield in 1683, French settling on the Quentin Stockwell place which his father had bought some years before, and Catlin, on the next lot south. Catlin's dignity, services and influence, soon gave him the honorable title of "Mr." among his fellow-townsmen, and as before in Branford and Newark, he was in Deerfield a trusted leader in public affairs.

French, a blacksmith by trade, at once built a shop, and set up his anvil by the roadside in front of his house. The industry and morality of Thomas French gave him the respect of his neighbors, and from the beginning he served them in responsible positions. Sometimes as hayward, sometimes as corporal of the guard: on committees for building and seating the meeting-house, and for hiring a schoolmaster: for measuring the common fence, and laying out to every man his due proportion of the expense, and for fortifying Meeting-house Hill. His name appears in 1688, as one of the first selectmen chosen by the town. To this office he was repeatedly re-elected.

Encouraged by the news that the Prince of Orange had landed in England, the people rose in their might against Sir Edmund Andros. He was thrown into prison. A Council of Safety, headed by old Simon Bradstreet, was elected. A convention of delegates was summoned from the several towns of Massachusetts to assemble in Boston, on the 22d of May, 1689, to deliberate upon the future government of New England. There is no town record of any meeting in Deerfield in response to this summons. In the Massachusetts Archives the following paper may be found:

"DEERFIELD, May 17. 1689

We, the Town of Deerfield, complying with the desire of the present Counsell of Safety, to choose one among us as a representative to send down, to signify our minds and concurrance with the Counsell for establishing of the government, have chosen and deputed Lieutenant Thomas Wells, and signified to him our minds for the proceeding to the settlement of the government as hath been signified to us from the Honorable Counsell of Safety, and those other Representatives. [Signed]

John Sheldon,
Benj. Hastings,
Benoni Stebbins,
Thomas French,
} Selectmen."

Lake of the Two Mountains

The part played by Thomas French and his associates on this occasion, shows them to have been shrewd diplomatists and fearless patriots. However justifiable, this was a revolution. If unsuccessful, the result would be for Thomas Wells, who held his commission from Andros, trial and punishment for treason. For John Sheldon, Benjamin Hastings, Benoni Stebbins and Thomas French, the severest penalties that a vindictive governor could inflict upon the leaders of a rebellion. The names of Thomas French and the others who did not hesitate to assume this grave responsibility for the town, must be forever honored.

At a Town meeting held "March 1 1694-5 Joseph Barnard was chosen Town Clerk for the year Ensuing"

"Sept. 17, 1695 Thomas ffrench was chosen Town Clerk"

Between these entries made by the two men respectively, he who runs may read the tragedy known in the annals of Deerfield as the Massacre at Indian Bridge. The births of a son and four daughters to Thomas and Mary Catlin French, had been duly registered by Joseph Barnard. When his hand was stilled in death by a shot from the skulking foe, Thomas French took up the pen and wrote the following:

"Abigail, daughter to Thomas and Mary ffrench was born ffeb. 28 1697-8"

"Jerusha and Jemima twins,—daughters To M^{r} Jno and Mrs. Eunice Williams were Born Sept. 3, 1701.

Jerusha (2nd) Daughter To M^{r} Jno and Mrs Eunice Williams, was Born January 15, 1703-4.

Jno son to Thomas and Mary ffrench was born ffeb. 1 1703-4[1]

This is the last line of the town records written by Thomas French. Minutes of a town meeting held late in April instead of in March that year; the election of a few town officers,—notably of a new town clerk; the following and

[1]From the Town Records of Deerfield.

similar entries in a new handwriting upon the town book,—these are all the record left by the afflicted people of Deerfield of the sorrows that befell them on the 29th of Feb., 1703-4.

"jerufha Williams Daughter to Mr Jno & Mrs Eunice Williams was flain ye 29 of ffebruary 1703

Mrs Eunis Williams wife to Mr Jno Williams head of ye Family was flain by ye enemi March 1 1704

Jno ffrench fon to Thomas and Mary ffrench was flayn by ye Enemy ffebruary 29, 1703-4

Mary ffrench Wife to Thomas ffrench head of this Family was flain by ye Enimie March 9 1703-4[1]

Our fathers were men of few words, and of stern endurance. They believed that their sufferings were the result of their sins, and that with wise and beneficent purpose, did God chastise them. To Him alone they poured forth their souls,—never in complaint, but ever in prayer that they "might be prepared to sanctify and honor Him in what way soever He should come forth towards them"—and "have grace to glorify His name whether in life or death." More eloquent than speech is their silence in relation to the "awful desolations of that day."

Not long before break of day the enemy came in like a flood upon them. Pouring over the palisade the frightful tide swept on, overwhelming with destruction all that lay in its path. The morning dawned on a scene of horror. Sharing the fate of many of his neighbors, Mr. John Catlin with his son Jonathan lay dead among the smoking embers of their ruined home. The house of Thomas French was gutted but not burned, and the town records escaped unharmed. The meeting-house that so lately had echoed with psalm and prayer, now resounded with groans of anguish. There lay the captives, ignorant of the fate of friends and kindred.

[1]From the Town Records of Deerfield.

LAKE ONTARIO
Fᵗ Ontario
Fᵗ Brewerton
Oneida L.
Oneida
Onondaga
Cayuga
Canawagus
Chenufsio
Canadaragey
Kanaraia
Genushagu
Onondarha
Karaghiyadirha
Kanestio
Gistaguat
Tioga
Shoshecununk
Owego
Otsiningo
Onoghquagy
SENECAS
CAYUGAS
ONONDAGAS
ONEIDAS
THE SIX NATIONS
NEW YORK
Fᵗ Hunter
Fᵗ Johnson
Johnson hall
Cherry Vally
Schohare
Shenectady
Albany
Kinderhook
Claverac
Kingston
Rhinbeck
Fᵗ George
Fᵗ Edward
Crown Pᵗ
Ticonderoga
Lake George
Hudsons River
Mohok R.
Saratoga
Part of Lake Erie
Part of Massachusets Bay
Part of Connecticut
Pensylvania
Great Swamp
Allegany Mountain
Kaats Kill Mountain
Ohio or Allegany River as it is Called above Fᵗ Pitt.
Kittanning
Delaware
Part
The Country West and North of the Boundary Line having never been surveyed or even thoroughly Explored is chiefly laid down from my Journals and the Sketches of intelligent Indians and other Persons
There are more lakes hereabouts but they cannot be laid down with certainty
This Country belongs to the Oneidas
The Boundary of New York not being Closed this part of the Country still belongs to the Mohoks
The Villages on the East Branch of Susquehannah are chiefly occupied by Oneidas and Tuscaroras
To His Excellency
WILLIAM TRYON Esqʳ.
Captain General & Governor in Chief
of the Province of NEW-YORK &c &c
This Map
of the Country of the VI. Nations
Proper, with Part of the Adjacent Colonies
Is humbly inscribed by his Excellency's
Most Obedient humble Servant
Guy Johnson 1771.
EXPLANATION
Indian Villages
Chief Towns or large Villages
Indian Path
The Boundary Aled with the Indians in 1768 is described by a ——— Line
Miles
By the Country of the six Nations proper is meant that part within which they principally reside the rest which is of Vast extent being chiefly occupied by their dependants The Mohocks are not mentioned as they reside within the limits of N York at Fort Hunter & Conajohare part of the Oneida Country lies also within that Province the Tuscaroras who form the sixth Nation are omitted being a southern People that live on lands allotted them between Oneida & Onondaga

There too, stretched upon the hard benches, were the enemy's wounded. There, Hertel de Rouville himself, smarting under his hurt, rushed in for a moment to cheer his wounded brother, to whom he whispered curses on the savage horde who had broken their promise to him that they would fight like civilized Frenchmen.

There were those whom we saw but late, so proud and happy. Hannah Chapin tense with anxiety, eagerly listening for every sound, while her husband, young John Sheldon, to whom love lent wings, was flying for aid to Hatfield. Elizabeth Price mute with woe, for Andrew, the Indian, had been slain at her side. Abigail Stebbins, not utterly cast down, for De Noyon, her father and mother, and sisters and brothers were all with her, and De Noyon had told her that his home was near Montreal, and that they would soon be released. There too, bound hand and foot was Thomas French with his wife, Mary Catlin, and their five eldest children. A few hours completed the devastation. The sun as it rose above the mountain, looked down on a dreadful sight. The main body of the enemy with their sorrowful captives had left the town. A few loth to cease their wanton pillage still lingered, and in the house of Benoni Stebbins, around his dead body, Lieutenant (Deacon) David Hoyt, and Joseph Catlin, with four other valiant men still kept at bay the Macqua chief and his followers.

Roused by the hoarse cries of young John Sheldon, as he sped on bare and bleeding feet through the hamlets below, thirty men on horseback, guided by the light of the burning village, were riding fast to the rescue. As they entered the stockade the foe fled precipitately from the north gate, across the frozen meadows to the northwest, reaching the river at the Red Rocks.

Capt. Wells at once took command of the rescuing party, reinforced by fifteen of his neighbors and five garrison sol-

diers, and instantly followed up the enemy. "Bravely but rashly and without order," I quote from Mr. Sheldon, "the pursuers rush on, intent only on avenging their slaughtered friends. As they warm up to the fight, they throw off gloves, coats, hats, waistcoats, neckcloths. Capt. Wells cannot control the headlong chase. He sees the danger and orders a halt, the order is unheeded, and the foe is followed recklessly into the inevitable ambuscade."

Meanwhile on Meeting-house Hill, the scanty remnant of the townsfolk, cautiously creep out from their hiding places, and gather in knots seeking for tidings. As the dreadful tale is told, they know not whether most to rejoice or to lament that they have been left behind. Among them is Mary Baldwin Catlin. While waiting with her children, and children's children, the order to march into captivity she had as was her habit, ministered to the needs, and soothed the sorrows of her friends and neighbors. Nor had she turned a deaf ear to the cry of her enemy for help. With the tender sympathy of a Christian woman, she had held the cup of cold water to the parched lips of the wounded French lieutenant, craving it with piteous appeal. In the hurry of departure, either by design, or by accident, none had claimed her as his captive. Her neighbors look upon her as one suddenly risen from the dead. They go with her to her desolated home, where she learns the fate of her husband, and of her second son. They find her little grandson, baby John French, dead on the threshold of his father's empty house. When some one says that Captain Wells has been repulsed, and that Joseph Catlin, her eldest son, has fallen in the meadow fight, her heart breaks. A Rachel, mourning for her children, and would not be comforted, she lingered a few weeks, and died from the shock of that day's horror.

On the 9th of March, Mary Catlin, wife of Thomas French, was killed on the retreat to Canada. Her husband with all

their surviving children, Mary aged seventeen, Thomas fourteen, Freedom eleven, Martha, eight and Abigail six, were carried to Montreal.

Mary French and her brother Thomas, with their father, were brought back to Deerfield in 1706 by Ensign John Sheldon, in his second expedition to Canada for the redemption of the captives. An interesting evidence of the proneness of Deerfield maidens to versifying, exists in a poem said to have been written by Mary French to a younger sister during their captivity, in the fear lest the latter might become a Romanist. Soon after his return, Thomas French was made Deacon of the church in Deerfield in place of Deacon David Hoyt, who had died of starvation at Coos on the march to Canada. In 1709, Deacon French married the widow of Benoni Stebbins. He died in 1733 at the age of seventy six, respected and regretted as an honest and useful man and a pillar of the church and state.

To his great grief all efforts for the redemption of his three daughters had failed. On her arrival in Canada, Freedom was placed in the family of a French merchant in Montreal, and in 1706 was baptized as Marie Françoise, the Puritanic name by which she had been known in Deerfield, being thus forever set aside. In 1713, she married Jean Daveluy of the village of St. Lambert, and thus became the ancestress of many French Canadian families of excellent repute.

Martha French was given by her Indian captors to the Sisters of the Congrégation de Notre Dame at Montreal. In 1707, she was baptized, *sous condition*, receiving from her god-mother the name of Marguerite. At the age of sixteen, she was married to Jacques Roi, also of St. Lambert. Marie Françoise French was present at her sister's wedding, and the autographs of the two sisters on the marriage register, are as clear to-day as when first written. The names of

the bride's parents are given in full and Thomas French is called "*clerc ou notaire de Dierfilde*" in New England.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF JOSEPH-OCTAVE PLESSIS.

On the third of May, 1733, just one month from the day of her father's death in Deerfield, Martha Marguerite French, widow of Jacques Roi, signed her second marriage contract, and the following day married Jean Louis Ménard, at St. Laurent, a parish of Montreal. Nineteen years later, her daughter Louise Ménard, was married at Montreal to Joseph-Amable Plessis called Belair.

The ancestor of Plessis, the first of the name in Canada, emigrating from Metz in Lorraine in the beginning of the eighteenth century, took up his abode in the outskirts of Montreal. There he, and his son after him, carried on the trade of tanning, and the place to this day is known as "The Tanneries of Belair." At Montreal on the 3rd of March, 1763, Joseph-Octave, son of Joseph-Amable Plessis and Louise Ménard, grandson of Martha and great-grandson of Deacon Thomas French, was born.

The boy was fortunate in his parentage. His father and mother cultivated the old fashioned virtues of simplicity, honesty and devoutness. His father was a blacksmith, so-called. Near one of the city gates, Joseph-Amable Plessis had a large shop, where he made axes, hammers, hinges, and all the iron implements in use in a new country. He had many apprentices and was chiefly occupied in making hatchets for trade with the savages. Discipline, industry and system reigned over his workshop. Irregularity, idleness and disorder he would not tolerate. The work of the forge for the year, was planned in advance, and the order never changed. A devout Catholic, determined to secure for him-

12d
MASSACHUSETTS STATE
17 76
12d
No 2763
Octo^t. 18
— TWELVE PENCE. —
This Bill entitles the Bearer
to receive One shilling oute
of the Treasury of this State.
by the 18 of Octo^r 1784 and shall
be received for that sum in
all payments. Agreeable
to an Act of said State.
D Cheever
Comite
ONE
SHIL
LING
12d

self and his *employés* a faithful observance of the fasts of his church, he humanely and with good business foresight, adapted his work to the conditions. In the Lenten season the heavy hammers of the forge were silent and the men took up the lighter labor of sharpening and polishing the axes that had been made in the autumn and winter and stored away unfinished. Once a month the father sent his sons and apprentices to the parish priest for confession. The mother took care that the religious duties of her daughters and domestics were duly performed. On Sundays and *fête* days the whole household went together to the parish church. The children were taught reading and their first catechism by the mother, who also trained them in habits of economy and order.

From the teaching and example of such parents, Joseph Octave Plessis learned early to love labor, to be diligent, to be orderly and economical in the arrangement of his time and affairs, firm in self discipline, and honest and upright in his dealings. Though by nature merry and gay, the boy was thoughtful and dignified beyond his years, and soon showed such a desire to learn that his parents put him in a primary school, founded by the gentlemen of the Seminary of Saint-Sulpice. Here, Joseph made such progress that he was soon promoted to a Latin School kept in the old Château Vaudreuil. Here he tried the patience of good father Curateau by his dulness in his Latin grammar which he hated, though he showed a fondness for Geography, History and Literature.

At the end of the first half of his course at the Latin school, he astonished his father one morning, by the announcement that he was disgusted with study, and that he would much rather stay at home than take up logic and metaphysics. The conduct of the father on this occasion, shows him to have been a remarkable man. Without the least intention

of permitting the shipwreck of the boy's intellectual career, he had too much sense to oppose or argue with him. "Very well, my son," he replied, "take off your scholar's gown, put on one of the boy's aprons, and go into the shop. There is work enough there to keep you busy. When you wish to go back to your books let me know." To the lad, his father's word was law, and with a heavy heart, he went his way to the shop, where he worked pluckily for a week, though every bone in his little body ached with the unusual fatigue. Then without a word of complaint he threw off his apron, donned his *capote* and marched back to school, a wiser and a happier boy.

At fifteen, with his brother and one or two comrades, he was sent to the Seminary in Quebec, which then offered greater advantages than that of Montreal. Communication between the two cities was difficult and infrequent. The choice lay between a schooner, which could not always be had, and a wagon, which was too expensive. Such was the delay and uncertainty, that it often happened that the little fellows would not reach their homes in Montreal till vacation was ended. Every year the Grand Vicar wrote from Montreal to the Bishop of Quebec, "The Montreal boys cannot be in Quebec at the opening of the course." Sometimes the more spirited boys took the matter into their own hands, and set out on foot for home at the beginning of the holidays. Picture Joseph-Octave and his friends ready for an early start on a fine summer morning. In the uniform of the Seminary boy, a long, black frock coat, many seamed and welted with white; a green sash; a flat-topped cloth cap, with broad leather visor,—each boy with his little deer-skin pack between his shoulders. First to the chapel for prayers to the protectress of pilgrims, thence to the court yard of the Seminary, where, surrounded by a crowd of their fellows, they cheer the time-honored walls. Pouring through

W. H. Bartlett.

Scene in the bay of Annapolis

(from Digby.)

the great gate, they run joyously down the steep hill to the river, and following it to the west, singing gay *chansons* as they go, they soon reach the open country. At sunset they seek the nearest farmhouse, sure of a kindly welcome. The best room with its plain deal chairs and settle, its clumsy stove, and its bare floor with rag mats, is thrown open for them to rest in. Camping at night on the new-mown hay in the long barn, they rise at dawn to a breakfast of omelettes and black bread. The generous lads fling down a handful of coppers to the *habitant's* wife, but she is not to be outdone in courtesy, "*Non, non messieurs,*" she is too glad to give her best to the young gentlemen of the Seminary, and off they start again followed by her blessing and her prayers.

The career of Joseph-Octave Plessis at the Seminary of Quebec, is thus summed up by one who knew him well: "Study had no difficulties that he did not level, nothing distasteful for which he did not conquer his disrelish, no obstacles that he did not overcome." Though this may be exaggerated praise, it is certain that Joseph was an intelligent, industrious and ambitious pupil, respected by his comrades and beloved by his teachers.

Born at the most critical period in the history of Canada, at the time of its cession to the English, this serious and thoughtful boy reflected much upon how he could best serve his country. Two careers were open to him; the bar and the church. The former meant the delights of the world, a home, wife, children, wealth, the adulation of friends, office, success. The latter, a solitary life with its austerities, its poverty, and its possible compensations to an exalted nature.

At the age of seventeen Joseph decided to become a priest. It is not likely that the youth comprehended the greatness of the sacrifice, which, later, a man of his temperament must inevitably have realized. Having received the tonsure from

Bishop Briand, who had watched his development with a fatherly interest, he was sent to the college of Montreal to teach till he could take orders. Though qualified in other respects for the place, young Plessis found to his great mortification, that two of his pupils were ahead of him in Latin. Nothing daunted, however, he set to work, and in two weeks mastered the Latin grammar so that forty years after he could repeat pages of it verbatim. We have here the key to his future success. Indomitable will, genuineness, willingness to work. His pupils soon learned to respect him. Such a teacher will always be respected. He became so fond of his profession, that to the last day of his life, in the midst of his most brilliant successes, he did not cease to regret that he had given it up. From this time he became fond of the old Latin writers, and liked to recite many of the odes of Horace. In 1783, though still too young to take orders, he was called by Bishop Briand to be Secretary of the diocese of Quebec. The duties of this office, in a diocese extending from New Orleans to the coast of Labrador, were complicated and onerous. The Bishop himself was ill. His coadjutor, Mgr. D'Esgly, lived at a distance and was, moreover, aged and infirm. Plessis's prudence and good judgment, with the business-like habits to which he had been trained, made him equal to his task. He lived with the Bishop, venerated him as a father, and was beloved and trusted as a son. The Bishop had been a careful student of men and affairs. He talked earnestly with his secretary about the causes that had led to the fall of the French dominion in Canada and analyzed with him the character of the men who had held the reins of government at the time of the cession. It is safe to say, that the affectionate intercourse between the good Bishop and his secretary, was the foundation of the distinction finally attained by the latter.

At the age of twenty-three, Plessis was ordained priest,

W. H. Bartlett. J. Cousen.

Split Rock.

(St. John River.)

and six years later, while still fulfilling the duties of secretary, he was made *curé* of Quebec. Nothing is more trying than to become the successor in office of one who has been long considered as the embodiment of fitness and nobility in his position. Monsieur Hubert, the predecessor of Plessis, was the idol of his parish. His fine intellect and physical beauty, with the added charm of an affable manner, gentleness and consideration for others, had endeared him to all classes. Plessis, in these trying circumstances, behaved with credit to himself and to the satisfaction of all. His labors at this time were very severe. He rose at four in the morning, and rarely went to bed before midnight. This short rest was often disturbed by his duties as *curé*, which called him to the sick and dying. Eager in the pursuit of knowledge, he resolutely devoted one whole night of every week to study. His youth and good health at first upheld him, but after three or four months of it, he found himself so sleepy the next day that he gained nothing by the practice, and wisely gave it up.

The youth of his parish were his tender care. He never lost sight of them, but watched their conduct, and gave them good advice as they grew up. To those who were too fond of dancing, he liked to quote the words of Saint Francis de Sales,—"I say about balls, what the doctors say about mushrooms,—the best of them are good for nothing." Education occupied much of his thought, particularly that of the working classes. He founded schools in the suburbs of Quebec, chose the masters, and personally supervised the classes. When he found an especially bright child, he urged the parents to send it to college, and if poverty was pleaded as excuse, his own scanty purse supplied the means. He took one child into his own house and himself taught him for a year and a half. In a letter to a friend, he speaks of this boy with fond praise, and encloses with pride a "*rondeau* com-

posed by my Rémi" as he affectionately calls him. He sent him to college, but after finishing his studies, the young man was unwilling to enter the church for which his benefactor had destined him, and the good *curé* generously made it easy for him to study law. He became afterwards Chief Justice of Lower Canada.

The first state paper of Plessis upholds parochial schools against a proposition by the government to establish a mixed college on equal terms for Protestants and Catholics. Plessis sees in this a blow aimed at the French language and religion; asks what place the Catholic Bishop of Quebec is to hold in the proposed institution; reminds the administration that the Jesuits had already a good college, where the boys are taught reading, writing and arithmetic,—and with keen satire, expresses his surprise that a government so zealous for the education of Canadian youth should have appropriated this building for its Bureau of Archives.

As a preacher Msgr. Plessis lacked that personal magnetism which touches and captivates an audience. His language was simple, his manner earnest. He was not a brilliant orator, though in many of his occasional sermons he rises to eloquence, as in that on Nelson's Victory of the Nile. As an example of his energy, he mastered English in a few months, in order to keep within his fold some English Catholic families of his parish. He sometimes preached in English, but he never pronounced it well.

I will not detail the steps by which Martha French's grandson rose from being choir boy in the cathedral of Montreal, to become Bishop of the vast diocese of Quebec. In thanking a friend who wished him joy and peace in his new office, M. Plessis replied, "It remains to be seen whether the happiness of a Bishop on earth is anything but a series of difficulties and crosses by which he may be fitted for eternal glory." He saw the struggle that was before him. A weak-

W. H. Bartlett 24 C. Cousen.

Bridges at Sherbrooke

(Eastern Townships)

er man would have shrunk from the contest. He nerved himself to meet it, and his foresight and prudence, his moderation and candor, his forbearance and self-control, his intelligence and his courage,—carried him safely and triumphantly through, and made him and his cause respected by all. To understand his position we must go back a little.

The treaty of 1763, nominally secured to the French Canadians the free exercise of their religion, and to the clergy, their customary dues and rights from the Catholic people of Canada. So long as both parties desired to maintain a good understanding and friendly relations with one another; so long as the French Catholic Bishop was moderate in his demands, and loyal to the king; so long as the English Protestant Governor was conciliatory, and disposed to allow the French reasonable freedom in the exercise of their religion, all was well. This had been the state of affairs between Bishop Briand and Sir Guy Carleton. Indeed the latter, in 1775, publicly declared that the preservation of the province of Quebec to Great Britain was due to the loyalty of the Roman Catholic clergy; and the Bishop was left undisturbed in his ancient prerogative of creating parishes and appointing *curés*. The two Bishops after Briand had enjoyed the same liberty unchallenged. On the election of Monseigneur Denaut as Bishop, Governor Prescott asked that a list of the *curés* appointed during the year should be annually sent him, in order that he might render an account to the minister, if necessary. In preferring this request, he assured the Bishop that he would be left free to act in all other matters. All the Bishops since the cession as before, in their private letters and public documents, had very properly signed themselves Bishops of Quebec. In the meantime, however, Dr. Mountain arrived in Quebec with his commission from the king as Bishop of the Anglican church of Quebec. Still the Catholic Bishop continued to issue his letters and circulars

as Bishop of Quebec. The clouds began to gather. The anti-Catholic faction which had always existed in the colonial government, but had heretofore been held in abeyance by the harmony existing between the Governor and the Bishop, began to act more openly. We have seen the specious project of a mixed college, involving the right to seize the property of the Jesuits and Sulpitians, and to put all the educational interests of a Catholic population of two hundred thousand souls into the hands of a Protestant board of directors, with the Anglican Bishop at the head.

The most bitter of the anti-Catholic faction was Ryland, the Governor's secretary, who did not hesitate to avow his contempt and detestation of that religion. In a letter written in 1804, he declared his belief that Catholicism could be annihilated in Canada within ten years, and the king's supremacy established. In Plessis, as the defender of the rights of French Canadians, Ryland recognized a formidable antagonist, and tried by intrigue with the home government, to overthrow and degrade him. The Attorney-General Sewall shared Ryland's feeling, and pronounced a decision in the courts that the government had the sole right of creating parishes and of electing *curés*; that all those created since 1763, were null and void, and that such a thing as a Roman Catholic bishop of Quebec did not exist. The Lord-Bishop, after tendering his resignation, on the plea that the right to elect curates was denied him, that the superintendent of the Romish church publicly assumed the title of Bishop of Quebec, while at the same time the said superintendent and his clergy took special care not to give him this title, set out for England to lay his complaints before the king.

This was the state of affairs when in 1806, Plessis became Bishop of Quebec. Fortunately the Lieutenant-Governor, then acting Governor and a devoted adherent of the English

ROGER WILLIAMS SHELTERED BY THE NARRAGANSETTS.

church and its Bishop, was also in England, and though Ryland did all he could to prevent Plessis from being allowed to style himself Bishop of Quebec in taking the oath of fidelity to the king, the chief councillor in charge of affairs in the Governor's absence, admitted the oath. Plessis fully understood the situation. He had always seen, as few had, how easy it would be for a tyrannical colonial government to evade that clause of the treaty, permitting to the Canadians the free enjoyment of their religion. He felt, too, that that clause had been nullified by Parliament in the act of 1774. The destiny of the Catholic church in Canada was committed to his hands. There were rocks on either side. The helm must be firmly grasped, the ship steered straight. Single-handed he must fight against three of its most bitter enemies. Tact, caution, discretion, patience, self-control, firmness,—these must be his weapons. Towards the last of his life he said to one of his vicars involved in ecclesiastical strife, "Foolish speeches are for those who make them. Do not let their bad conduct vex you. Continue to act with charity and forbearance. In every contention, happy is he who knows how to keep good behavior on his side." This was the lesson he had learned in his long struggle.

During the ten years' contest between the officers of the crown and Plessis, he was often summoned to discussion with them concerning the king's prerogative. In his arguments, one hears now a Roger Williams, advocating obedience to the higher law,—and then the civil service reformer, opposing bribery and corruption in politics, and demanding the complete separation of church and state. Inflexible as Laval in maintaining the supremacy of the church, his methods were better. Laval was bigoted and imperious; Plessis, liberal and conciliatory. Aggression was the mission of the former, mediation of the latter. In these disputes with the Governor and Council, he never lost his temper, and only

once does he allude to his personal feelings. At the end of a long discussion with Craig, he says, "It has been the principle of my life to support the government in every way that I can conscientiously do so. No one is more loyal, more obedient to the law of the land than I am, and having done as much as my predecessors for the service of the government, I hoped that the government would not treat me worse than it had treated them."

To efface the bad impression left by Craig upon the minds of the French Canadians, Sir George Prevost, a man of very different stamp, was made his successor. Doubtless instructed to adopt a conciliatory policy toward the French, educated by the mistakes of his predecessor in office, and perhaps believing that the time had come, when a slight concession from the Bishop would forever settle the vexed question of supremacy, the new Governor, as Plessis was about to depart for the missions of the Gulf, addressed him as follows: "I have received despatches from England. The government desires to place you on a more respectable footing, but it is expected that you yourself will name the conditions. Let me have your ideas on this subject before your departure. We must provide for everything and have a good understanding."

Plessis had remained unmoved by the intrigues of Ryland and the threats of Craig. Temptation came to him now in a new form. It would have been easy for a man of weaker principles to have persuaded himself that he had borne and foregone enough; that he had stood long enough in the breach; that with a Governor as well disposed as Sir George Prevost, a merely nominal surrender would secure to himself all the honors, privileges and emoluments of his position; that he had earned the right to ease and repose, and might now claim the reward of his services. But Bishop Plessis was not the man to shirk responsibility for the present upon

W. H. Bartlett 10 E. Benjamin

Orford Lake

the future. His fidelity to what he believed right was uncompromising. As if to fortify himself at the outset against the sophistry of such arguments, he wrote to the Governor: "I shall have the honor to send your Lordship a statement of my views, but I must declare in advance that no temporal offer will induce me to renounce any part of my spiritual jurisdiction. It is not mine to make way with. I hold it as a sacred trust of which I must render an account."

The memorial that follows defining the position and rights of the Catholic Bishops of Quebec, past, present and future, is a masterpiece of good sense, sound reasoning, candor and justice.

During the Bishop's absence at the missions of the gulf, the war of 1812 broke out. On his return to Quebec he found all Canada in a state of great excitement. The government had been forced to appeal to the Canadians, the same Canadians whom Ryland and his friends had chosen to represent as continually on the eve of revolt, for aid to resist the entrance into Canada of American troops. The French Canadians responded nobly to the Governor's appeal. This was Plessis' supreme moment. Mandements, addresses, circulars, pastoral letters fly fast from his pen. Letters to the people at home and in the ranks; letters of comfort to the women and children temporarily bereft of husbands and fathers in their country's service; letters to the militia, exhorting them to loyalty, patriotism and piety; letters to his *curés*, thanking and encouraging them to stand by the government. Circulars and mandements providing not only for the immediate wants of those left behind, but for possible famine in the future in consequence of fields untilled and harvests ungathered in time of war.

Full recognition of the Bishop's services was made by Sir George Prevost to the home government, and in 1813, the Prince Regent in the name of the king decreed to the Bishop

of Quebec an allowance of £1000 per annum, as a testimony to his loyalty and good conduct. Plessis had his private satisfaction from his opponents if he desired it, when Ryland as clerk of the Executive Council had to name him as Bishop of Quebec.

His triumph was complete when in 1817, he was appointed by the crown a member of the Legislative Council of Canada.

To this hasty sketch of his public career let me add a glimpse of the private life of this remarkable man. Though short in stature, he was of commanding presence. His fine head was well set on his broad shoulders. His forehead was noble, his eyes dark and piercing. His mouth was firm and decided, but his expression was kindly. In his face, as in his character, are many traits of striking resemblance to some of his race whom we have known in Deerfield. Beneath his grave exterior was a fund of gayety that won him the love of children and youth. A clerical friend remembers having been carried when a child of five to see the great Bishop, who took him on his lap saying, "Come now, sing to me,—sing me all your little songs." On his visits to college and convent, the pupils gathered freely about him. He told them stories and taught them the games and songs of his boyhood. Affectionate and sensitive, he was equally susceptible to kindness and injury, and easily moved to tears or laughter. His keen sense of the ridiculous came near betraying him into untimely mirth on more than one occasion. In a small parish church, towards the close of one of his most serious discourses, his eye fell upon one of those crude paintings which at that period adorned the country churches. A purple sky, with sun, moon and stars. Saint-Michael in red coat, blue trousers and heavy riding boots, winging his way with flaming sword to earth and about to crush with heavy heel the big nose of Lucifer, while the latter parries

W. H. Bartlett.

II

Portage des Chats.

the blow with his horns. The preacher's gaze was riveted. Feeling that he must laugh outright he sat down; rose again, coughed,—abruptly wound up his sermon, and rushing to the sacristy burst into prolonged laughter.

The daily routine of the Bishop was much the same as when he was curate. He was in his office by half-past seven in the morning, and did not leave it, except for his devotions and the mid-day meal, till supper time. After that, he gave himself up for an hour to a pleasant chat with his priests. He was witty, with a fine appreciation of humor; a brilliant talker, told a good story, and liked a joke even though he himself was the victim. He used to tell with glee, how after giving an hour of good advice in English, to an old Irishwoman, she suddenly silenced him by saying that she didn't understand a word of French. His methodical business habits rendered possible his immense correspondence. He never let affairs accumulate on his hands. Volumes of his manuscript letters are carefully preserved. Letters to his clergy on every imaginable subject concerning the physical and spiritual welfare of his people; on education, moral and intellectual; on vaccination, and the state of the crops. Letters to the Ursuline sisters, playful and affectionate like those of a father to his daughters. "In his very familiarity," says one, "there was something indefinable commanding respect. If we were entirely at our ease with Monseignieur Plessis, we never could forget that he was our Superior and our Bishop." Writing, on a voyage to the Gulf he says, "Your prayers have sustained me wonderfully up to this moment, though they have not prevented my having pretty strong doses of sea-sickness several times. So you have not besought Heaven to calm the waves and make the wind blow as softly as one of your lay sisters blows to kindle the fire in the morning. This breath of ocean is far mightier, and makes my poor little schooner roll so as to break dishes

and bottles. All this, however, has no lasting effect on one's health. As soon as one lands the misery is over, and we will not speak of the inconveniences of life especially since we know we deserve so much worse things."

From the Magdalen Islands he writes, "Here there are no serpents, frogs, toads, rats or bugs. No grain grows, nor melons, nor flax, nor onions, nor turnips nor Indian corn. The women are as modest as nuns. They till the soil, while the men fish for a living. Bad faith, theft, quarrelling are unknown here; locks and keys unheard of. People would have a very bad opinion of anyone who bolted his door." Again he writes, "I am going to confess my ignorance. I can't succeed in making any good ink. . . . . I beg you to have one of your teachers make me some. I will pay for all the vinegar used. I will exchange empty bottles for full ones, and I will thank you very much into the bargain." From this time forth the nuns made all the ink he used, and if the consumption exceeded the supply he was sure to send a note written with bad ink and this postcript: "If you don't find my ink black enough you may send me some other." Though he kept two secretaries he replied promptly with his own hand to all who sought his help. He was generous to a fault, and reminds one of the Apostle Eliot in his lavish alms to the needy. He never could keep any money for himself. What was quaintly said of the patriarch White is as true of Plessis. "He absolutely commanded his own passions, and the purses of his parishioners, whom he could wind up to what height he pleased on important occasions."

The best summary of the life and character of Plessis, is to be found in his own eulogy on good Bishop Briand. "He had learned from Jesus Christ to render unto Caesar, the things that are Caesar's, and from Saint Paul, submission to the powers that be. . . . . No one was more upright . . . . . more sincere, ... more fearless and self-possessed amid

POST

untoward events. . . . . No one knew better than he, ... how to reconcile what he owed to God with what he considered due to his fellow-men."

Three times during his Episcopate, Bishop Plessis visited every parish in Lower Canada, and so prodigious was his memory, that he knew the names of every family in each parish. If he heard of a black sheep in any flock, he hunted him up, talked to him like a father, set him on his feet and made him feel himself a man again. He used to relate that when he went to the Iroquois village near Montreal,[1] he watched from the sacristy the Indians, as they stole noiselessly into the church and sat down, the men on one side and the women on the other. Though the women's faces were hidden by their blankets he could always recognize his aunt, by her tall figure and European gait. This was his grandmother's sister, Abigail, daughter of Thomas French of Deerfield, taken captive at the age of six, and since lost sight of, until now found, among the Saint-Louis Indians, where, adopting the language and habits of her captors, she lived and died unmarried. On his first visit to Montreal after his election, official announcement as usual was made, of the Bishop's readiness to receive his friends, and the public generally. His father receiving no special notice of his arrival, sent him the following: "My son, I am at home, and shall be glad to receive a visit from you, if you wish to see me." Remembering a former passage at arms between the self-respecting father, and the obedient son, we cannot doubt that Plessis was soon welcomed in the bosom of his family.

On the 2nd of July, 1819, he sailed for Europe on business of importance to the church. He had scarcely left the harbor when a Bull from the Pope arrived naming him Archbishop of Quebec.

The journal kept on this tour is extant. He jots down

[1]Caughnawaga.

simple and loving thoughts of the friends left behind. He notices the birds that hover about the islands of the great river, and the gambols of the fish about the ship. The smoke and noise of Liverpool annoy him, but he is delighted with the public institutions of that city. He is especially impressed by the tender care and instruction given to the blind, and his heart is touched by their singing. He praises the smiling landscape, and good roads of England. "For two hundred miles, between Liverpool and London, I did not see a single rut," he says, but he misses the grand forests of his native land. His description of an English inn is capital. "The innkeeper and his wife meet you at the door, with as good grace as any Lord and Lady would receive their guests. That done, they disappear,—leaving you to the discretion of an intendant, who takes care of you with an air of grandeur and nobility that would do credit to the first gentleman of England. . . . . Nothing is spared. All your wants are anticipated. Only at your departure, the gentleman opens his hand, and besides the amount of his bill, he receives with gratitude the shilling which you give him." He does not relish English mutton, but speaks of the fine wool of the sheep. He remarks upon the large size of the horses, and the dexterity of the coachmen who use long whips, but never speak to their horses. He speaks with gratitude of the consideration of some English Protestants, with whom he travelled, who were careful not to disturb his devotions. He expresses admiration and repect for a good old Methodist with whom he lodged,—"Must we damn without mercy, those who live well, but do not believe?" he says; "No, charity forbids this." He believed that sooner or later, in some way, these good Protestant brethren would be brought to a knowledge of the true faith. His trust in the love of God and his own great love for his fellow-men, would not permit him to think that any could be lost.

Scene from the Summit of the Fall of Albert [illegible]

Everywhere in Europe he was treated with distinction, George the Fourth in London, Louis the Eighteenth in Paris, and Pope Pius the Seventh in Rome, gave him flattering audience. Having accomplished his mission he returned to Canada, after a year's absence. Landing at Montreal, his passage down the river was a triumphal procession. After an ovation at Three Rivers, a frenzy of joy greeted his arrival at Quebec. The whole population turned out to meet him. He landed amid the firing of cannon, the clangor of bells, the music of the English band, and the shouts of the people. The multitude followed him to the cathedral, and filled the market place outside, while a *Te Deum* was sung. A flock of dove-like nuns fluttered on the mansard of the Ursuline convent, watching eagerly from afar the movements of the crowd, while others in their glad impulse, seizing the bell rope of the chapel, rang out a welcome to the Holy Father.

He had long been a sufferer from rheumatism. On the 4th of December, 1825, after a few days' illness, his busy and useful life ended suddenly at the hospital of the Hôtel-Dieu. On the 7th his body clad in his sacerdotal robes, a mitre on his head, a crucifix in his hand, was borne in an open coffin through the streets and followed to the Cathedral by an immense concourse of citizens,—the Governor-General and his Council, the Legislative Council, judges of the King's Bench and troops of the garrison. All the bells of the city were tolled, the shops shut and minute guns fired. A marble inscribed with an elaborate epitaph in Latin, marks his tomb, at the left of the altar, in the choir of the Basilica at Quebec, His heart in a crystal vase in a leaden box, was carried in procession to the church at Saint-Roch. The vault where it rests is covered by a mural tablet inscribed in French.

Lately I was present at one of the most imposing ceremonials of the Romish church, in the Basilica where Plessis

was ordained, consecrated; and so long officiated at similar solemnities. It was the day, when from two hundred thousand altars all over the world, prayers arose for all the souls in Purgatory. A lofty *catafalque*, covered with a pall, symbolic of death, rose at the very entrance. Tall candles in silver candlesticks stood at its four corners and hundreds of tapers, row upon row ascending, flared and smoked about it. From ceiling to floor, the vast cathedral was draped in black and white. Its usual splendor was veiled by emblems of woe. Pictures and images, crystal chandeliers and silver lamps, were shrouded in black. Broad bands of black concealed the railing of the galleries, and thick folds of the same were wound about the pillars. Votive lamps burned before all the shrines. Colored lights illumined the recesses of the church. Thousands of people with chaplets, knelt in prayer that the souls of the dead might be released from the torture of Purgatory. From the organ loft came the wail of a solemn requiem. Odor of incense was wafted from the far away chancel, which was crowded with priests and boys. In fancy I saw the great Archbishop there, where he loved best to be, in his pontificals, and seated in his chair of state, attended by his clergy in vestments of black velvet embroidered with silver.

Then I thought of Thomas French in his leather apron, shaping ploughshares all the day long; in the evening, painfully recording in the town book the events of the every day life of the little plantation of which he was a leading member; on Sunday, in his homespun suit, sitting here in the deacons' seat below the pulpit, half-hidden from the congregation by the plain board hanging from the rail in front, and serving for a communion table when needed. Children and grandchildren watched by his deathbed, and finally, kindly hands of mourning neighbors bore him on a bier to his rest in the old burial ground. There the sun shines all

day upon his grave, which is marked by an old red sandstone bearing the simple words,

"Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord."

Would it have shocked the old man more I wonder, to have known that one of his blood should become the most illustrious defender of the Roman Catholic faith in Canada,—or that a woman of the same stock should stand in this place on this anniversary, to ask you to honor this veritable scion of the church in Deerfield?

Who shall dare affirm or deny that to the drop of New England blood in his veins, Joseph-Octave Plessis, owes the grandest traits of his character?

After all,—what matters it? Neither New England nor New France,—Puritan nor Catholic, holds a monopoly of virtue.

Sects perish. Nationalities blend. Character endures.

HERTEL DE ROUVILLE.

COMMANDER OF THE FRENCH AND INDIANS IN MANY EXPEDITIONS AGAINST NEW ENGLAND.

"It is not far from New England to old France." One rushes by train at night across the fertile meadows of the Connecticut and Passumpsic rivers to wake in a wilderness of pines and hemlocks, alternating with forests of the more delicate larch. So, on to the valley of the Chaudière. Thence winding through picturesque hamlets bearing the names of the Virgin, and all the saints in the calendar,—each a dazzling row of stone cottages, built close by the river, with low walls and high pitched roofs, whose curved and broadly overhanging eaves are supported by brackets. The lofty gable ends are shingled and painted yellow, pink or dark red, in gay contrast to the white plastered walls. The massive cobblestone chimneys are built up from the ground outside, rudely daubed with clay, and encased in wood towards the top to protect them from wind and rain. Each cottage has its outdoor oven, its long, low barn with numerous bright red doors, always open, and barred by wicket gates. Behind the buildings the farm slopes gently upward to a high hori-

Fort Halifax.

zon line, a mile back from the river. While you are looking for Evangeline and wondering whether this is Acadia or Normandy, you find yourself towards sunset in the midst of a French-speaking crowd in the market-place of the Lower Town of Quebec,—on the very spot where in 1608 Champlain and his companions built their "*habitation*" and spent their first winter in Canada.

Above you, to the height of two hundred and fifty feet towers the magnificent cliff, so justly termed the Gibraltar of America. Clambering into a *calèche*, you crawl to the top by the zigzag road now known as Mountain Street. But you go not alone,—for this is holy ground, and your heart beats conscious of a procession from the past that silently goes with you up the narrow pathway.

Here is Jacques Cartier, hardy Breton mariner, first of white men who trod this winding way; Champlain, skilful seaman, brave soldier, restless, untiring adventurer,—cumbered with much care for the soul of the red man; and his gentle and beautiful young Huguenot wife, so far exceeding his efforts for her conversion that she learned to look even upon her love for him as disloyalty to God. Here are mendicant friars in gray cloth robes, girt up with knotted cord, and naked feet shod in wooden sandals; black-gowned Jesuits for whom Indian tortures have no terrors, their emaciated faces looking more ghastly beneath their looped-up hats; and dark-eyed nuns, whose woe-begone faces, pale and weary with weeping and sea-sickness, are yet radiant with unabated zeal for their mission. Here, too, are splendid regiments of soldiers, whose valor has been proved on many an old world battle field; and a long line of viceroys, governors and intendants, surrounded by liveried guards and followed by a throng of young nobles from the most corrupt of European courts gorgeous in lace and ribbons and "majestic in leonine wigs."

Gaining the summit of the rock you look off upon a landscape of incomparable beauty. Below, the noble river with white-winged vessels and drifting smoke of many steamers. Midway between its banks lies the beauteous island of Orleans like an emerald set in silver. The long, white *côte* of Beauport, with its glittering twin spires, stretches away toward the gleaming cataract of Montmorenci. Across the river, russet fields of waving grain slope in billowy uplands to the blue horizon. Far away are the rounded summits of the grand old Laurentian mountains, the land first lifted above the waste of waters, nucleus of a world as yet unborn. Imperial in the splendor of their autumnal robes, wrapped about in the purple haze of the September afternoon, tranquil and serene as befits their dignity, solemn and impressive in their sublimity, they stand there as they have stood since time began.

Halting on the rampart of this walled town that seems like a dream of the middle ages, you hear the muffled drums beating the funeral march of a soldier. The *Angelus* peals from the cathedral spire. You listen to the low, sweet chanting of cloistered nuns at their vespers. Surely this is a bit of old France.

But again it is not far to New England from Old France, for, to the thoughtful student of our colonial history who stands for the first time beneath the Lombardy poplars on the esplanade at Quebec, especially to one reared under the elms of Massachusetts, no place is so near to the impregnable fortress of the St. Lawrence as the frontier town of Deerfield on the Connecticut. Instinctively he peoples the streets of the old French city with the shadowy forms of those, who, driven from their burning homes on the night of the 29th of February, 1703-4, dragged out a miserable captivity on this very spot. Yonder, tended by Hospital nuns, Zebediah Williams, that pious, hopeful youth, breathed his last. Not

far away are the dilapidated walls of the Intendant's palace, over whose threshold many a New England captive has passed. Between this and the Governor's council chamber Ensign John Sheldon must have walked daily while besieging these officers with petitions for the release of the Deerfield captives.

Here, in this now deserted market-place young Jonathan Hoit sat with the vegetables which he was sent to sell in the city, when Major Dudley saw him and bought him of his Indian master with twenty bright, silver dollars. Facing this square were the Jesuit buildings where the Deerfield pastor so often dined and argued with the Father Superior; and within sight, stood the Ursuline convent where the little New England girls were bribed and beaten by those as piously bent on the salvation of their souls as ever was good Parson Williams himself.

With all these names, that of Hertel de Rouville must be forever associated. We have hitherto thought of him but as a Popish bigot, a leader of murdering savages. It seems to me that the time has come when we can afford to honor him and his ancestry as we do our own for their patriotic and brave defence of their country and their faith.

In that part of Normandy, known as the Pays de Caux in the picturesque town of Fécamps by the sea, lived Nicholas Hertel and his wife Jeanne. Early in the seventeenth century we find the name of their son, Jacques Hertel in Canada, where the rank of a lieutenant gave him the *entrée* to the best society. Here he devoted himself to the study of the Indian language and became known as one of the most skilful interpreters. The interpreter was then a man of high consideration and authority in intercolonial affairs. His position as mediator between the savage and the white man required the possession of unusual courage and intelligence. Mr. Parkman mentions Hertel as one of the four most fa-

mous interpreters of New France in the decade following 1636, and says of the class, "From hatred of restraint and love of a wild and adventurous independence they encountered privation and dangers scarcely less than those to which the Jesuit exposed himself from motives widely different,—he from religious zeal, charity and the hope of Paradise; they, simply because they liked it. Some of the best families of Canada claim descent from this vigorous and hardy stock."

On the 23d of August, 1641, Jacques Hertel married at Three Rivers, the daughter of François Marguérie, another of the quartette of renowned interpreters. Three Rivers was then a fur-trading hamlet surrounded by a square palisade. Between it and Montreal, on both shores of the St. Lawrence were clearings, marking the sites of future seigniories. Among the early settlers of Three Rivers, are names connected with some of the most romantic episodes in the history of Canada.

One of the neighbors of Jacques Hertel and François Marguérie was Christophe Crévier, whose eldest daughter later married Pierre Boucher, Governor of Three Rivers. Their daughter, when but twelve and a half years of age married René Gaultier de la Varennes, a lieutenant of the Carignan regiment, and became the mother of La Verendrye, the discoverer of the Rocky Mountains.

Jacques Hertel, at his death, left two daughters and a son. The son, François Hertel, was born at Three Rivers about 1643, and early distinguished himself as a soldier. Charlevoix calls him "one of the most valiant warriors of his time." A later French writer says, "By his boldness and success he deserves to be called the most intrepid champion of New France against its eternal enemies, the Iroquois and the colonists of New England."

One summer afternoon in the year 1661, François Hertel,

then a youth of eighteen, was made prisoner by the Mohawks, and with two of his comrades carried to one of their towns, where they were cruelly tortured. With his poor, mutilated hand the brave boy wrote on birch bark and cartridge wrappers a letter to his mother and two to Father Le Moyne, a Jesuit priest, who had been sent a little before to Onondaga on a political mission during a truce with the Iroquois.[1] In them not one word of complaint of his own sufferings escapes the heroic youth, but elsewhere he thus speaks of his little fourteen years old friend, Antoine Crévier, who had been captured with him: "Poor little fellow, I pitied him so! These savages made a slave of him, and then while hunting they stuck their knives into him and killed him."

Hertel's other comrade in misfortune wrote home to Three Rivers as follows: "There are three of us Frenchmen here who have been tortured together, and while they were tormenting one the other two were permitted to pray to God for him, which we did continually; and they let the one they were tormenting chant the Litanies of the Virgin or the Ave Maria, which he did while the others prayed. The savages mocked us and made a great hue and cry when they heard us singing, but that did not keep us from doing it. They made us dance around a great fire to make us fall into it. There were more than forty of them round the fire, and they kicked us from one to another like tennis balls, and after they had burned us well they put us out in the rain and cold. I never felt such dreadful pain, but they only laughed at us. We prayed with all our might, and if you ask me whether I did not hate the Iroquois who were hurting us so, and curse them, I tell you, no, that I prayed for them, ... and I must tell you about Pierre Rencontre whom you knew well. He died like a saint. I saw them torture him. He never said a word but "My God have pity on me." . . . . .

[1]Mr. Parkman gives us these letters on p. 67 of the Old Régime.

The youthful captive describes more sufferings endured at the hands of the merciless Mohawks, and at the close of his letter, as if overwhelmed with the horror of it all, he says, "I can't help weeping in saying good-bye." What a picture this is of the constancy and fortitude of these lads! The lapse of two centuries cannot deaden our sympathy with those distressed mothers at Three Rivers as they read these agonizing letters from their beloved boys.

Thus early did François Hertel begin to deserve the title of "*Le Héros*," by which he is later known in the annals of New France.

On Sept. 2nd, 1664, three years after his captivity among the Mohawks, François Hertel married at Montreal, Mdlle. Marguerite Thauvenet. She had come to Canada with Madame de la Peltrie, intending to consecrate herself to the education of Indian girls, but became betrothed to M. de Chambly, a captain in the Carignan regiment, whose seigniory she inherited at his death, becoming later the wife of François Hertel and the mother of his nine sons. Mr. Benjamin Sulte, an eminent historian of Canada, gives a new version of this story in his history of Saint-Francis. He says that Marie Thauvenet's sister married Captain de Chambly and died without children; that De Chambly was killed in the wars with Italy and that his Canadian fief passed to his wife's sister's husband, François Hertel, who thereupon assumed the title of Seigneur de Chambly.[1] Be this as it may, François Hertel's title was Hertel de la Frésnière. From his inheritance of the seigniory of Chambly through his wife or her sister, he became Sieur de Chambly. I find a letter from François Hertel, dated at Three Rivers, July 28, 1666, to the surgeon at Orange, [Albany] thanking him

[1]François Hertel's title was Hertel de la Frésnière. He gave up this to take that of "Seigneur de Chambly," and is thereafter known as Hertel de Chambly.

Fort Ticonderoga.

for his good treatment while a captive, and regretting that another Mohawk invasion has prevented his being sent by the governor on an embassy to Albany. He adds: "As for news regarding myself I will inform you that I've got married since I was with you, and have a big boy who will soon be able to go and see you; only let him be fourteen or fifteen years older than he is now; that will make him about sixteen."

On the 28th of March, 1690, we find François Hertel leading the attack at Salmon Falls[1] and performing prodigies of valor at Wooster River. He had with him his three eldest sons, of whom our Hertel de Rouville was the third. He was also accompanied by his nephew, Louis Crévier, (the son of his sister Marguerite,) and by Nicolas Gatineau, son of Marie Crévier. These were all gallant and spirited young officers.

Retreating to the Kennebec, he left his eldest son, Hertel de la Frésnière, who had been severely wounded in the action, among the Abenakis, and joining a war party under Portneuf, whose soldiers clamored to be led by Hertel, he shared in the triumph at Fort Loyal on Casco Bay.

We get an interesting glimpse of Hertel's home life at this period. One little daughter had been born to him to whose education the pious mother devoted herself, although, says the Ursuline Superior who tells the tale, "She did not neglect her nine sons, as is proved by the fact that though they were somewhat gay and tremendously brave, they made it a principle to be as faithful to God as to their king." While the husband was fighting for the king at Salmon Falls, his wife was presenting their little ten years old girl for her first communion. This was the first step in a remarkable religious career in which the daughter of "The Hero" "displayed

[1]According to some writers this attack on Salmon Falls was led by Hertel de Rouville, son of François Hertel.

the same heroism which her father had shown on the field of battle."

From the time of her first communion, Marie Françoise Hertel's life was regulated by herself with the sole view to her eternal salvation. She showed thereafter no looseness, idleness nor inconstancy in her tasks at the *pension*. Delighted with her progress, her parents took her home intending to arrange for her a marriage suitable to their position, but her heart was fixed on becoming a nun. Though this was a great disappointment to her father, who had counted upon her companionship in his declining years, he loved her so tenderly that he would not sadden her by remonstrating against her chosen vocation, and rarely spoke to her on the subject. Her brother, De Rouville, however, was not so considerate. He importuned her incessantly to marry one of his companions in arms who was greatly admired by all. "What nonsense in you, Fanchette," he would say, "at your age to think of shutting yourself up in a convent. Leave your place among the Ursuline sisters to some old maid whom nobody wants, and who is good for nothing but to say her prayers. Why need you put yourself behind a grating to serve God? Look at our mother. Isn't she a good, true Christian?"

All this did not prevent the young *religieuse* from fulfilling her intention. In September, 1700, she became a novice under the name of Soeur Marie Françoise de Saint-Exupère, taking the white veil, in the convent then newly founded in her native town.

When in 1713 it became necessary to elect a Mother Superior for the convent at Three Rivers, the minds of all his friends and neighbors naturally turned to the daughter of "The Hero." The matter being decided otherwise by the Ursulines at Quebec, a crowd of his tenants, who believed that everything belonging to the name of Hertel must of neces-

sity hold the highest position, assembled at the convent doors showering invectives upon the authorities at Quebec. The uproar reached such a height that poor little Sister St. Exupère was driven by her humility to leave her native town and seek entrance to the Ursuline convent at Quebec, where she took at once the black veil. There on the 4th of March, 1770, she died at the advanced age of ninety, after a retirement from the world of seventy-one years, which she spent in active service for the church, showing an especial aptitude for teaching young girls.

"About this time," says Mr. Parkman, "Canada became infatuated with *noblesse*. . . . . Merchant and seignior vied with each other for the quality of *gentilhomme*. . . . . 'Everybody here,' writes the Intendant Meules, 'calls himself esquire and ends with thinking himself a gentleman.'" The exploits of François Hertel entitled him to letters of nobility from his king. These, according to Canadian Archives, though promised in 1690, were not granted till a quarter of a century later.

In 1712, probably despairing of a proper recognition of his services, and ambitious for his sons, François Hertel, wrote a memorial recapitulating their military exploits. In this he sets forth in detail the expedition of his third son, Hertel de Rouville, to Deerfield.[1]

The following extracts are literally translated:

"The Sieur Hertel is 76 years old.[2] . . . . . He has ten sons all in the troops. . . . . The Sieur Hertel *père* began to bear arms in

[1]Canadian Ant. and Num. Journal, July, 1889. Interesting as a cotemporary statement of important events by a conspicuous actor therein. It is a draft by "The Hero" of a record of his services, to be sent to the king, with corrections partly by himself and partly by some other hand. Its antiquity is unquestionable. Invaluable as authority on the details of the expeditions against New England in 1690 and 1703-4.

[2]Changed to "70," this fixes the date of this document as 1712, as Hertel was born in 1642.

1657, in the beginning of the war against the Iroquois. He was wounded and made prisoner by these Savages in 1659, and was about two years a slave among them. He is maimed in one hand by the bad treatment of these barbarians. . . . . .

In all the wars there has been no party or expedition in which the father or some of his children have not been. M. the governor general . . . . . in 1703[1] honored the Sieur de rouville[2] with the command of a party of 200 men among the number of whom were three of his brothers. He took by storm at daybreak the fort[3] guerfil[4] where there were a hundred and twenty-seven armed men. He killed in this assault, and in a combat which he sustained while retreating with his rear-guard of thirty men, against more than a hundred, one hundred and fifty persons, took one hundred and seventy prisoners, his lieutenant was killed and eleven others of his men. He was wounded and twenty-two others, among which number were three officers and one of his brothers who was serving as adjutant."

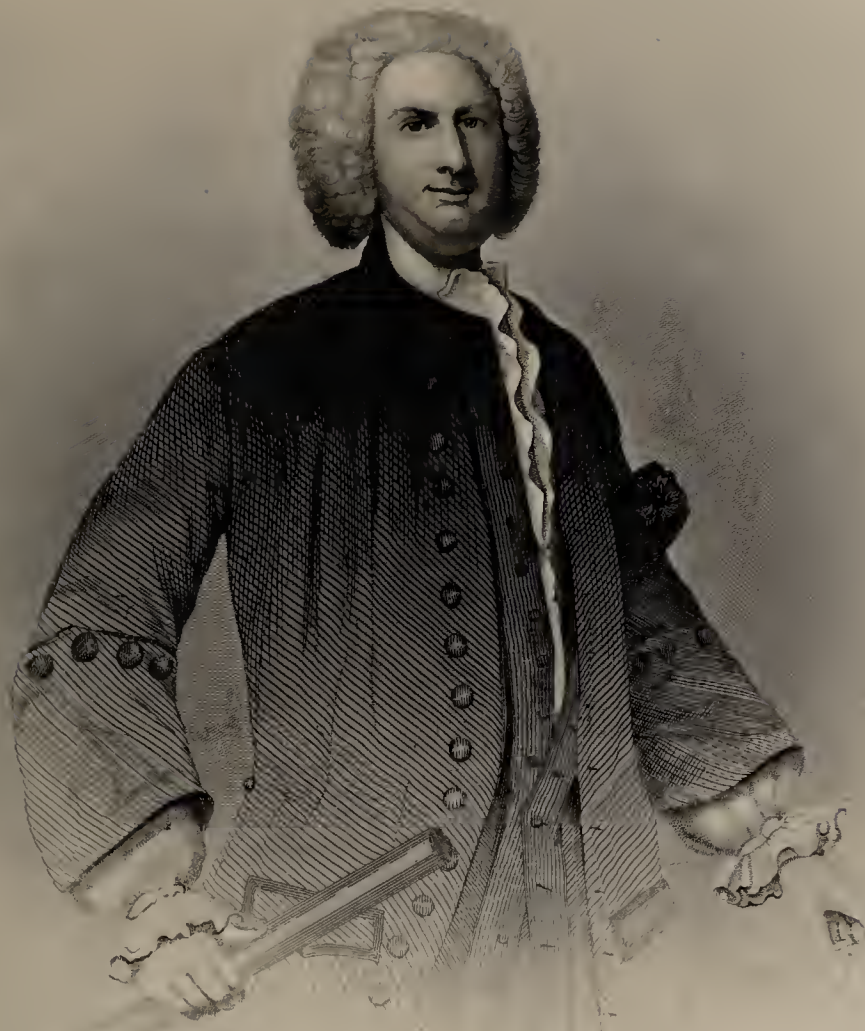
The long-deferred patent of nobility was granted to François Hertel in April, 1716, he being then seventy-four years old. It appears in Canadian Archives as follows:

[Translation.]

"Services which the Seignieur Hertel Lieutenant of our troops in Canada has rendered to the late King, ... in the different expeditions in which he has been against the savages, have led us to give him proof of our satisfaction, which may descend to his posterity. We resolve upon this the more willingly, as the valor of the father is hereditary in his children, two of whom have been killed in the service, and the seven others who still serve in our troops in Canada and Isle Royale, have given on all occasions proofs of their good conduct and bravery. And since the father and his children

[1]Changed to "1704." [2]"His third son."

[3]"Of." [4]"Deerfield."



LIEUTENANT GENERAL

SIR Wm Lepperrell BART

[illegible] Gallery Maine June [illegible]
[illegible] June 6th 1759

still continue to serve us, with the same zeal and the same affection, we have been pleased to grant to the head of this family our letters of nobility. . . . . "

We find François Hertel until his death constantly employed in the service of his government: a man useful in its councils and idolized by the whole colony. Charlevoix, who saw him at the age of eighty full of health and strength says that "All the colony bore witness to his virtue and his merits."

The head of the younger branch of François Hertel's family was Jean Baptiste Hertel de Rouville, so intimately connected with the history of New England.

He was the third "big boy" that rejoiced the heart of his youthful father and was probably born about 1668. His father procured for him a grant of land on the river Chambly near his own seigniory, which, it will be remembered, came into his possession through a romantic episode in the life of his wife, Marguerite de Thauvenet. Embracing, as did all his brothers, a soldier's career, "he became," says the Canadian Chronicler, "the rival of all those intrepid warriors who made the English colonies repent of their unjust attacks." He held the rank of lieutenant, and was accompanied in his expedition against Deerfield by three of his brothers. For his exploits on that occasion he was recommended for promotion by De Vaudreuil in a letter to the Minister as follows:

"QUEBEC, 16th 9ber 1704.

. . . . . I had the honor to write to you, My Lord, ... and to inform you of the success of a party I sent this winter on the ice as far as the Boston government[1] at the request of the Abenakis Indians whom the English attacked since Sieur de Beaubassin's return last autumn, and at the same time took the liberty to speak to you of Sieur de Rouville who commanded on that occasion : he desires,

[1]Deerfield.

My Lord, that you would have the goodness to think of his promotion, having been invariably, in all the expeditions that presented themselves, and being still actually with the Abenakis. . . . . .

Sieur de Rouville's party, My Lord, has accomplished everything expected of it, for independent of the capture of a fort,[1] it showed the Abenakis that they could truly rely on our promises, and this is what they told me at Montreal on the 13th of June when they came to thank me."[2]

"At a meeting of the Commissioners for managing the Indian affairs at Albany the 21 of June, 1709. Intelligence given by an Indian called Ticonnondadiha, deserted from a French party gone to New England, says that it is now 24 days ago since that party went out from Canada wch he left three days ago at the head of the Otter Creek at a place called Oneyade; and to goe over a long carrying place before they came to the New England river. This party consists of 180 men, 40 Christians and 140 Indians; they are designed for Dearfeild and intended to post themselfes near the fort and then send out a skulking party to draw out the English, thinking by that meanes to take the place. That by another Indian come latter from Canada, confirms that this party is out, and that two New England captives deserted from thence 14 dayes ago. Albany 22th June 1709. Hereupon the Com^rs^ for the Indian affairs have sent Danl Ketelhuyn expresse with a letter to Col. Partridge to give an acc^t^ thereof."[3]

The origin of this expedition was as follows: Having been worsted in an attack by the English under Captain Wright,[4] "a party of Indians," says De Vaudreuil, "feeling piqued, asked me to let them go on an excursion with some fifty of the most active Frenchmen, and to allow the Sieur de Rou-

[1]Deerfield.

[2]M. de Vaudreuil to M. de Pontchartrain. N. Y. Col. Doc. Vol. IX, p. 758-9.

[3]N. Y. Col. Doc. Vol. 5, p. 86.

[4]See Capt. Benjamin Wright's narrative in Sheldon's Hist. of Deerfield, Vol. I, p. 369.

Sir. Wm Pepperell's home.

ville and another to command. I immediately assented . . . . . the force went to Guerrefille [Deerfield] where, having prepared an ambush they caught two alive.[1]

Hertel de Rouville appears to have made many little "excursions" of this sort into New England and New York. On the 29th of August, 1708, he commanded the attack on Haverhill. Here his brother, Hertel de Chambly, and Louis de Verchères, the friend whom he had ardently desired as his brother-in-law, were slain.

Joseph Bradley, the same who accompanied John Sheldon to Canada,[2] secured the medicine chest and packs of the party which they had thrown aside on going into battle and had not time to gather up in their hasty retreat with their captives.

De Rouville was sent by the governor on an important embassy to Boston. Of this De Vaudreuil writes to Pontchartrain that he "had been fortunate in his choice of two officers, the most capable of all Canada of reconnoitring a country which at any moment they might be called upon to attack."

Amidst his severer duties De Rouville found time to marry twice. By his second wife he had five children. The names of his daughters appear on the convent lists of pupils, and in their records the holy sisters mention with pride Hertel de Rouville and his brothers as defenders of the church. He was finally sent to Cape Breton where he spent some years, and died June 30th, 1722, at Fort Dauphin, of which he was commandant. Among the prisoners huddled

[1]These two were Joseph Clesson and John Arms. The latter was wounded twice before allowing himself to be taken. De Rouville's approach being discovered it is probable that the townsfolk, many of whom had but lately returned from Canadian captivity, courageously pursued and compelled the enemy to retreat.

[2]See ante.

together in Ensign John Sheldon's house in Deerfield on that dreadful night in February, 1703-4, waiting with her weeping children, grandchildren and neighbors, the order to march into captivity, was Mary Baldwin Catlin, wife of Mr. John Catlin. A wounded French officer was brought in and laid upon the floor. In his agony he called piteously for water. Mrs. Catlin raised his head and tenderly moistened his fevered lips. Reproached by a neighbor for this kindness to their enemy, she answered, "If thine enemy hunger feed him; if he thirst, give him drink." When the captives were gathered together for the march Mrs. Catlin was left behind, —tradition says in return for her compassion. One touch of nature makes the whole world kin. I like to think that the wounded officer may have been Hertel de Rouville's young brother, and that that humane act, distilled through the blood of succeeding generations, has inspired me with the wish to present the Hertels in a more favorable light than that in which we of New England are accustomed to view them.

The Canadian heroine, Madeleine de Verchères, at the age of fourteen, defended her father's house for a week against the Iroquois, while he was on duty at Quebec. Putting a gun into the hands of her younger brother she said, "Remember that our father has taught you that gentlemen must be ready to shed their blood if need be in the service of their God and their king."[1]

In our estimate of the character of Jean Baptiste Hertel de Rouville, we must not forget that this was the creed on which he was nurtured.

[1]This younger De Verchères became later a prisoner of war in Boston; was the subject of much negotiation for exchange. He appears in our Archives as "Boverey de Vorshay."

Citadel of Kingston

(from the St. Laurence)

FATHER MERIEL—MARY SILVER.

INTRODUCTION.

"In 1657," says Mr. Parkman, "the association of pious enthusiasts who had founded Montreal, was reduced to a remnant of five or six persons, whose ebbing zeal and overtaxed purses were no longer equal to the devout but arduous enterprise. They begged the Seminary of Saint-Sulpice to take it off their hands. The priests consented, and though the conveyance of the island of Montreal to these, its new proprietors, did not take effect till some years later, four of the Sulpitian fathers came out to the colony and took it in charge.

Thus far, Canada had had no bishop, and the Sulpitians now aspired to give it one from their own brotherhood. This roused the jealousy of the Jesuits, who, for thirty years had borne the heat and burden of the day,—the toils, privations and martyrdoms, while as yet the Sulpitians had done nothing and endured nothing;—and under the leadership of the great Laval, the long quarrel between the two orders began." It ended in the triumph of Laval and the Jesuits.

From the earliest period of their history, the labors of the three religious communities,—Sulpitian priests, nuns of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame, and Hospital nuns, have supplemented each other: the Seminary priests serving as teachers of the boys and as directors and chaplains of the other two orders; the Congrégation nuns teaching the girls; and the Hospital nuns doing duty as nurses to them all.

The most pious friendship unites the three orders, and together they are regarded in the eyes of the people of Montreal as an image and embodiment of the Holy Family, Jesus, Mary and Joseph.

FATHER MERIEL.

In 1690 or 91, M. Henri-Antoine de Meriel of Meulan in the Diocese of Chartres, France, was sent by M. Tronson, Superior-General of the Sulpitian Order in Canada, to succeed M. Barthélemy as chaplain at the Hôtel-Dieu in Montreal.

At the age of thirty, M. Meriel bade farewell to riches, honors and the congenial associations of his native land, to devote himself to the poor and unfortunate.

Though his birth, education and talents made him a leading spirit in the best society of New France, his life was one of arduous labor and self-sacrifice. In addition to his duties at the Hôtel-Dieu he ministered with great success to the parish of Notre-Dame in Montreal, and was director and confessor to the pupils of the Sisters of the Congrégation.

On Canadian records, Father Meriel is everywhere present as a part of the personal history of the New England captives, and to those familiar with their story, the priest's name is as well known as that of the Puritan preacher, Rev. John Williams. The latter found in him a foeman worthy of his steel.

To Father Meriel's knowledge of the English language, and his facility in its use, an accomplishment rare at that

W H Bartlett

J C Armytage

The Green at Fredericton

time in Canada, we owe the marvellously exact records by which we are able to identify so many of our captives.[1] The name, age, parentage, the date and place of capture, are given with minute detail, in his exquisite handwriting, which is like an oasis in the desert to one groping among the dry and almost illegible records of two hundred years ago.

By his ability and zeal, many were converted to the Romish church. Not content with devoting himself soul and body to this work, he spent his patrimony in the cause.

Shortly before his death the Intendant and the Governor-General wrote to the home government asking that in consideration of his services he might be re-imbursed by the crown.

The French minister replied as follows:

"His Majesty has been informed that M. Meriel, priest at Montreal, has spent his fortune on the conversion of the English of the colony, and that he is so impoverished as to be unable to continue the good work.

As His Majesty is very glad to give him proof of his satisfaction with his zeal, he desires M. M. de Vaudreuil and Bégon to inform him how much money they think should be annually awarded to M. Meriel."

Father Meriel could not profit by the good intentions of his sovereign. He died in the odor of sanctity while ministering to the sick at the Hôtel-Dieu, on the 12th of January, 1713, at the age of fifty-two.

MARY SILVER.

One of the fruits of Father Meriel's labors among the captives was Mary (Adelaide) Silver. She was the eldest child of Thomas Silver of Newbury, Mass., and his wife Mary Williams.

[1]See Appendix for an English letter by Father Meriel.

Thomas Silver died in 1695, and his widow married Captain Simon Wainwright.

On the 29th of August, 1708, [Sept. 9, N. S.] a party of French and Indians attacked Haverhill, Mass., then a village of about thirty houses, with a meeting-house and a picketed fort or garrison house. The following account is by Joseph Bartlett, a soldier in the garrison house under Capt. Wainwright:[1]

"In the year 1707, in November, I, Joseph Bartlett was pressed, and sent to Haverhill. My quarters were at the house of a captain Waindret. August 29, 1708, there came about 160 French and 50 Indians, and beset the town of Haverhill—set fire to several houses; among which was that of captain Waindret. The family at this time were all reposing in sleep; but Mrs. Waindret waking, came and awaked and told me that the Indians had come. I was in bed in a chamber, having my gun and ammunition by my bed-side. I arose, put on my small clothes, took my gun, and looking out at a window, saw a company of the enemy lying upon the ground just before the house, with their guns presented at the windows, that on discovering any person they might fire at them. I put my gun to the window very still, and shot down upon them, and bowed down under the window; at which they fired, but I received no harm. I went into the other chamber, in which was Mrs. Waindret, who told me we had better call for quarter or we should all be burnt alive. I told her we had better not; for I had shot, and believed I had killed half a dozen, and thought we should soon have help.

After reloading my gun, I was again preparing for its discharge, when I met with a Mr. Newmarsh, who was a soldier in that place. He questioned me . . . . . I answered that I was going to shoot. He told me if I did shoot, we should all be killed, as captain Waindret had asked for quarter, and was gone to open the door. . . . . He said we must go and call for quarter; and, setting our guns in the chamber chimney, we went down and asked for quarters.

[1]See Appendix to History of Newburyport.

Copp's Ferry

near Georgetown

The entry was filled with the enemy, who took and bound us, and plundered the house.

They killed no one but captain Waindret. When they had done plundering the house, they marched off, and at no great distance, coming into a body, I had a good view of them, so that I could give a pretty correct account of their number expecting to escape."

A rare volume, entitled "Incidents in the Early History of New England," gives substantially the following account of the attack on Haverhill:

"One party rifled and burned Mr. Silver's house. Another attacked the garrison house of Capt. Samuel Wainwright,[1] killing him at the first fire. To the surprise of the garrison who were bravely preparing to resist, Mrs. Wainwright herself unbarred the door," spoke kindly to the enemy as they entered, served them and offered to get for them whatever they wanted. The invaders, bewildered by this unexpected reception, demanded money. Promising to get it, Mrs. Wainwright left the room, and fled from the house, "with all of her children, except one daughter who was taken captive, and was not afterwards discovered."[2]

The rage of the enemy on discovering that they had been duped by a woman, may be imagined. They attacked the garrison with great violence, at the same time attempting to fire the house. They were forced to retreat with three captives, one of whom was Joseph Bartlett, quoted above,—another was Mrs. Wainwright's daughter by her first marriage, Mary Silver, then about fourteen years old. The route of the captives may be traced by Bartlett's narrative. In February he became the servant of a rich Frenchman afflicted with gout. In his leisure moments he "Wrought at shoemaking." He describes his religious experiences in Canada, with charming *naïveté*. His mistress asked him why he did not "attend meeting." "I answered that I could not under-

[1]Simon Wainwright.

[2]Discovered by the author in 1893, on Canadian records.

stand what they said. She said she could not. I asked her what she went for. She answered, to say her prayers."

In his quaint New England dialect he gives us this glimpse of Father Meriel's work among the captives :

"On my coming to reside with the French, Mr. Meriel, a French priest, came and brought me an English bible. As I sat at shoemaking, he came and sat down beside me, and questioned me concerning my health, and whether I had been to their meetings. I told him I had not. On his asking the cause I answered (as I had done before) that I could not understand what they said. He said he wished to have me come and witness their carryings on. I told him it was not worth my while. But he was very earnest that I should come to his meeting; and advised me to try all things, holding fast that which is good. Who knows, said he, but that God hath sent you here to know the true way of worship. I told him I believed ours was the right way. Says he we hold to nothing but what we can prove by your own Bible. After considerable conversation I told him I did not know but that I should come to their meetings and see how they carried on : which after a little while I did. Now in their meeting-house there stood a large stone pot of their holy water, into which everyone that came in dipped their finger making a sign of a cross, putting their fingers first to their foreheads, then to their stomachs, afterwards to their left shoulder, then to their right shoulder, saying, 'Father, Son, and Holy Ghost —amen,' and kneeling down, they say a short prayer to themselves. They have pulpits in their houses for public worship; in which the priests sometimes preach.

After a short time the priest came again to visit me, and asked me how I liked their manner of worship. I told him it seemed strange to me. He said this was generally the case at first, but after a while it would appear otherwise."

The simple cobbler at his last, disputing doctrines with the educated priest, is an interesting picture of the sturdy New England character. Bartlett gives us much more of his theological discussion with Father Meriel,—but the

W. H. Bartlett. G. Cousen

St. John from the Signal, [illegible]

priest's efforts to convert him were unavailing. Bartlett was redeemed and returned to Newbury after a captivity of four years, two months and nine days.

On arriving at Montreal Mary Silver was probably given at once in charge of the "Sisters of the Congregation." Her name appears in our Archives on a "Roll of English Prisoners in the hands of the French and Indians at Canada Given to Mr. Vaudruille's Messengers," dated 1710-11.[1] This roll was probably sent to Canada by the French officers who had come to Albany with Dutch prisoners, bringing also John Arms of Deerfield to exchange for Sieur de Verchères, who had been taken prisoner in the attack on Haverhill.[2]

In Canada the usual agitation follows this demand of our Government for the return of the captives. The records are teeming with their baptism and marriage. Here is one:

"On Sunday, the 2nd of February 1710, the rite of baptism was administered by me the undersigned priest, to an English girl named Mary Silver, who born at Haverhill in New England on Wednesday, March 10th, 1694, [28 Feb. 1693-4] of the marriage of Thomas Silver, deceased, and Dame Mary Williams now Widow, by her second marriage, of Mr. Simon Wainwright, Judge, Captain and Commandant of the said place; which girl having been captured on Sunday, the 9th of September, 1708, by Monsieur Contrecoeur Esquire, officer in the troops of Canada, and brought to this country, lives as a pupil in the house of the Soeurs de la Congrégation de Notre-Dame, at Villemarie.

Her godfather was the High and Mighty Seigneur Messire Philippe de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, Chevalier of the military order of Saint-Louis, and Governor General of New France; her godmother, Madame Charlotte Denis, wife of M. Claude de Ramezay, Chevalier of the order of Saint-Louis, Seignieur de Lageste Bois-

[1]Mass. Archives, Vol. 71, p. 760.

[2]See Sheldon's Hist. of Deerfield, Vol. I, p. 373, *et seq.* See Appendix.

fleurant, and Governor of the Island of Montreal and its dependencies,—all of whom signed with me according to the ordinance."

The autographs of Mary Silver, her godparents, and Father Meriel follow.

She was probably confirmed soon after her baptism. The precise date is unknown, as no records of this rite were then kept. As it was the custom at confirmation to add another name to that given at baptism, she then received the name of Adelaide. Thenceforth, on Canadian records, she appears as Adelaide Silver.

Her Puritan mother, distressed by the rumor that her child was about to become a Romanist, addressed to the General Court the following petition :[1]

"HAVERHILL, April 29. 1710

To His Excellency Joseph Dudley Esq

Capt Generall and Governor in Chief, and to ye Honorable Council and General Assembly Now Mett the petition of Widow Mary Wainwright humbly showeth that Whereas my Daughter hath been for a long time in Captivity with ye French in Canada and I have late reason to fear that her soul is in great Dainger if not all redy captivated and she brought to their ways theirefore I would humbly Intreat your Excelency that some care may be taken for her Redemption before Canada be so Endeared to her that I shall never have my Daughter any more ; Some are ready to say that there are so few captives in Canada that it is not worth while to poot ye Cuntry to ye charges to send for them but I hoope your Excelency no [r] No other Judichous men will thinck so for St. James hath Instructed us as you may see Chap. 5 v 20 Let him know that he which converteth the sinner from the errour of his way, shall save a soul from Death and shall hide a multitude of sins this is all I can do at present but I desire humbly to Begg of God that he would Direct the hearts of our Rulers to do that which may be most for his Glory

[1]Mass. Archives. Vol. 105, p. 59.

W. H. Bartlett.

E. Brandard

and for the good of his poor Distressed Creatures and so I take leave to subscribe myself your most Humble petitioner

Mary Wainwright Widow

In the House of Representatives June 9. 1710.
Read ye 12th read and recomended
In Council
June 12. 1710 Read & concurred in."

This petition was of no avail. It was not long before her friends in New England learned that Mary (Adelaide) Silver had made public abjuration of the Protestant faith, and before the close of the year 1710 in her eighteenth year she entered the convent of the "Hospital Nuns of St. Joseph," usually known as the "*Socurs de l'Hôtel-Dieu.*" Her desertion of the convent in which she had been protected and educated, to enter a different order, seems strange and capricious. It is, however, explained by the fact that she preferred the duties of a nurse to those of a teacher.

Teaching is the vocation of the Sisters of the Congregation; nursing, that of the nuns of the Hôtel-Dieu. From the earliest period of their history in Canada the two orders have been closely united in affection and intercourse, so that to use their own words they have always regarded themselves as one and the same community.

In the early days, the two convents were near neighbors, their court yards adjoining, and they made each other frequent visits. The nuns of both convents love to tell how in the olden time, they used to sit at sunset on their respective balconies, responding to each other with hymns and canticles of gratitude and of pious joy.[1]

The New England girl of to-day will find it hard to understand how a young girl, free to choose, should have elected the arduous duties of a nurse in a cloister in preference to the more agreeable occupation of teaching, with greater

[1] "*Cantiques de reconnaissance, et de pieuse allégresse.*"

freedom and variety in her life. It is evident that her training and surroundings, at the most impressible period of a young girl's life, had made of her a devotee.

At the Hôtel-Dieu she came again under the influence of Father Meriel.

The treaty of Utrecht in 1713, while stipulating for a general exchange of prisoners, included a clause whereby the English converted to Catholicism during their captivity should have entire liberty to remain in Canada. This apparent freedom of will was greatly hampered by their training and naturalization in Canada, and comparatively few converts returned to New England. Mary Adelaide Silver's mother wrote entreating her to return, and sent money with an urgent appeal to the Governor of Canada, to send her home.

"But," says the annalist of the convent, "the generous girl preferring the treasures of the faith to all worldly advantages replied to the Governor as follows: 'Monsieur, I tenderly love my dear mother, but before everything, I am bound to obey God, and I declare to you that I am resolved to live in the holy religion which I have embraced, and to die a nun of Saint-Joseph. My dearest wish is, that before my death, I may see my mother embrace the holy Catholic faith, with the light of which it has pleased God to enlighten me.'"

Mary Adelaide Silver adhered to her resolution to remain in Canada. Her zeal was as fervent, her industry as untiring as that of Father Meriel. At his death she took his place as catechist and apostle to the captives. After thirty years of convent life, she died at the Hôtel-Dieu on the 2nd of April, 1740. Two days later she was buried in the vault of the old convent church, then standing at the corner of St. Paul and St. Sulpice streets in Montreal.

In 1860, those there interred were removed to the crypt of

the church of the new convent on the Avenue des Pins, where the mortal remains of Mary Adelaide Silver now rest.

APPENDIX.

A. H. B[illegible] J. T. Willmore.

Lake beneath the Owls-head Mountain.

APPENDIX.

A.

CHRISTINE OTIS.

Grizel [or Grizet] Warren, wife of Richard Otis of Dover, N. H., was captured in the attack on that town, June 28, 1689, with her infant Margaret, and two older children. In Rev. John Williams's "Redeemed Captive," Grizel Otis figures as "Madam Grizalem." Captured earlier than those of Deerfield and other towns, she seems to have become reconciled to her fate before their arrival in Canada, and to have befriended them, while serving as a valuable assistant to Father Meriel in his ministrations among them.

The following is a copy, *verbatim et literatim* of the record of her baptism in Canada. Evidently "*avec trois de ses enfants*" is omitted before "*duquel*" &c.:

"*Le Samedi neuvième jour de Mai veille de la Pentecôte de l'an mil six cents quatre vingts treize a été solenellement batisée une femme Angloise cy-devant nommée Madame Kresek Laquelle née à Barwic en la Nouvelle Angleterre le vingt quatrième jour de Février* [*vieux stile ou 6 mars nouveau stile*] *de l'an mil six cens soixante et deux du mariage de Jacques Waren Ecossois Protestant et de Maryuerite Irlandoise Catholique et mariée à défunt Richard*

Otheys Habitant de Douvres en la Nouvelle Angleterre ayant été prise en guerre le vingthuitième jour de Juin de l'an mil six cens quatre-vingt neuf (duquel ne lui est resté qu'une petite fille agée de quatre ans comme etant née le 15 *Mars* 1689) *nommée au batême Christine aiant été prise en guerre le vingt huitième jour de Juin vieux stile* [*ou* 8 *Juillet nouveau stile*] *de l'an mil six cens quatre vingts neuf demeure au service de Monsieur de Maricour. Elle a été nommée Marie-Madeleine. Son Parrein a été Monsieur Jaques Le Ber Marchand. Sa marraine, Dame Marie-Madelaine Dupont épouse de Monsieur le moine Ecuyer Sieur de Maricour, Capitaine de détachement de la Marine*

[*Signed*] *Le Ber.*

Fran: Dollier de Casson, Gr. vic.
M. M. Dupont."

Marie-Madeleine Hotesse is on a list of persons confirmed Sept. 8, 1693.

The following is an exact copy of the record of her marriage in Canada:

"*L'an de grace mil six cent nonante et trois le quinzième d'Octobre après les fiançailles et la publicaon d'un ban faite en la grand Messe d'onzième jour dud mois et an, d'entres Philipe Robitaille fils de Jean Robitaille et d'Martine Cormon ses père et mère de la Paroisse de Bronroux en Artois et Marie Madeleine oüaren veuve de défunt Richard Otheys habitant de Douvres en la Nouvelle-Angleterre tous deux de ce paroiffe Monsieur Dollier grand vicaire* [illegible] *ayant donné la despense des deux autres bans et ne s'étant découvert aucune empech*^{mt} *M. Meriel prêtre du consentement de moi soussigné curé de la paroiffe de Ville-marie les a mariée selon la forme préscrite par la Ste Eglise en présence de Charles Le Moyne Ecuyer Sieur de Maricour capitaine réforme dans les troupes de la marine qui sont présent de Dame Marie Madeleine Dupont son épouse, de Monsieur Jaques Le Ber Marchand de M*^{r} *forestier et plusieurs autres amies.*"

W. H. Bartlett. J. Armytage

Lake Memphremagog.

Philippe Robitaille, son of the above, was baptized in Montreal, Feb. 5, 1695.

On a list of persons to whom naturalization is granted in May, 1710, are:

"Mag^{dne} Ooarin Englishwoman, married to Philippe Robitaille cooper, established at Ville-Marie, by whom she has four children."

"Christine Otis, Englishwoman, brought with her mother to Canada, married to Louis Le Beau, carpenter established at Ville-Marie."

B.

ESTHER WHEELWRIGHT.

NOTE. Capt. Phineas Stevens was born in Sudbury, Massachusetts, whence his father removed to Rutland, Vt. At the age of sixteen he was carried captive to Canada. On his return he settled in what is now Charlestown, N. H., then known as "Number Four."

He was an active partisan officer during the French and Indian war, and died in public service in 1756. He was often employed by the Massachusetts Government as ambassador to Canada for the exchange of captives. His name appears frequently in our Archives.

NOTE. Major Nathaniel Wheelwright, son of Colonel John, grandson of Colonel Samuel, and greatgrandson of the celebrated Reverend John Wheelwright, was born in Boston in 1721. He married there in 1755, the daughter of Charles Apthorp, his distinguished fellow-citizen.

Major Wheelwright was a merchant and banker of Boston and London. His character and his social position gave him great influence in public affairs, and he was employed by the Massachusetts government in diplomatic positions, requiring tact, judgment and personal dignity. He served twice at least as ambassador from New England to Canada for the redemption of captives taken in the old French and Indian wars. Major Wheelwright died in 1766, on the island of Guadaloupe.[1]

[1]To the generosity of a collateral relative, Mr. Edmund M. Wheelwright of Boston, I am greatly indebted, especially for the interesting pictures of Esther Wheelwright and her handiwork that appear in this volume.

In the summer of 1752, Phineas Stevens and Major Nathaniel Wheelwright, (nephew of the captive Esther Wheelwright,) were sent to Canada by our government, to demand the rendition of New England captives. The history of their embassy appears in the records as follows:

"Jan. 30, 1752

In the House of Representatives it was Voted that his Honour the Lieut. Governor with advice of the Council be desired to take speedy and effectual Care for the Redemption of the Captives now in Canada at the charge of the Government."[1]

"At a Council held at Harvard College in Cambridge upon Friday the third of April 1752, sitting the General Court. It was Advised that his Hon^{r}: the Lieutenant Govr: appoint Capt. Phineas Stevens & Mr Nathaniel Wheelwright to negotiate the affair of Redeeming the Captives in Canada in pursuance of a vote of the General Court pass'd the 29th of January last, and that His Honour direct them to proceed to Canada with his Despatches as soon as the Season of the Year will permit."[2]

"At a Meeting of a Number of the members of Her Majesty's Council held at the Court House in Charlestown, April 17, 1752, It was advised and consented that a warrant be made out to the Treasurer to pay unto John Wheelwright Esq. for the Use of the Gentlemen going to Canada in the Service of the Governmen^{t}: the sum of ninety Pounds towards the defraying their charges on the affair, they to be accountable therefor at their Return. The Secretary laid before the Council the Draught of a Letter his Honour proposed to send to the Governor of Canada for demanding the Release of the captives. Which letters being considered were advised by the Council. The Secretary also laid before the Council a Draught of Instructions His Honour proposed to give to the Gentlemen going to Canada on the affair of the Captives, to which the Council advised."[3]

[1]Mass. General Court Records, 1749-1753, p. 426.

[2]Mass. Council Records, 1747-1755, Vol. 12, p. 253.

[3]Mass. Council Records, Vol. 12.

"At a Council held at the Court House in Concord upon Thursday the Fourth of June, 1752 it was Advised and Consented that a Warrant be made out to the Treasurer to pay to Jacob Wendell Esq[r] the Sum of Fifty Four Pounds six shillings to discharge a Bill of Exchange drawn on the said Treasurer by Messrs Stevens and Wheelwright Messengers to Canada for Moneys taken up for the Public service."[1]

"At a Council held at the Lieut.-Governor's House in Cambridge on Thursday Aug. 13. 1752 His Honour communicated to the Council Letters he had received from Monsieur Longueil Commander in Chief in Canada & Messrs Stevens & Wheelwright Messengers sent from this Government on the affair of the Captives and the Copy of a Conference between the said Gentlemen and some of the St. François Indians, with a List of the English captives ransomed by them with other papers relating to their Negotiation."[2]

The following are the official documents above-mentioned:

"Speech of the Abenakis of Saint-François to Captain Stevens, deputy from the Governor of Boston, in presence of M. le Baron de Longueuil, Governor of Canada, and of Iroquois from the Sault Saint-Louis, and from the Lake of the Two Mountains, on the 5th of July, 1752. Arti8aneto, Chief Orator:

"Brother,

We shall talk to you as if we were speaking to your Governor in Boston. We hear on all sides that this Governor and the Bastonnais[3] say the Abenakis are bad people. It is in vain that you charge us with bad hearts; it is always you, our brothers, who have attacked us; you have a sweet tongue, but a heart of gall. I admit, that when you begin it we can defend ourselves.

[1]Mass. Council Records, Vol. 12.

[2]Mass. Council Records, Vol. 12.

[3]The people of N. E. were known at that time in Canada as "The Bastonnais." On my first visit to Boucherville a nonagenarian desired to shake hands with me as "*une des Bastonnais.*"

We tell you, brother, that we are not anxious for war. We like nothing better than to be at peace, and it needs only that our English brothers keep peace with us. . . . . We wish to keep possession of the lands on which we live. . . . . We will not give up an inch of the land which we inhabit, beyond that long ago decided upon by our brothers. . . . . We forbid you absolutely from killing a single beaver or taking one bit of wood on our lands. If you want wood we will sell it to you, but you shall not have it without our permission. Who has authorized you to have our lands measured? We pray the Governor of Baston to have these surveyors punished, for we cannot believe they are acting under his orders. You are then the arbiters of peace between us. As soon as you cease to encroach upon these lands, we shall be at peace."

HE PRESENTS A BELT.

"I repeat, by this belt, it belongs to you only, to keep peace with us Abenakis.

Our father here present has nothing to do with what we are saying to you. It is on our own behalf and for our allies that we speak. We regard our father simply as a witness of our words. . . . . Under no pretext whatever must you pass beyond your limits. . . . . We are a free people; allies of the French King from whom we have received our Religion, and help in time of need. We love him and we will serve his interests. Answer this speech as soon as possible. Report it in writing to your Governor. We shall keep a copy of it. It will not be difficult for your Governor to send us his reply. He can address it to our Father who will kindly send it to us."

STEVENS'S REPLY.

"I shall report to my Governor, your words, my brothers, and I will carry it to him in writing that nothing in it may be altered.

I ask you, my Abenaki brothers, if your attacks upon the English during the past two years have been because of their encroachments upon your lands. Are you satisfied with the death of your people by means of the blows you have struck against the English? I know that we must not encroach on your lands. Those who have done so are stupid, lawless people."

ABENAKIS CONTINUE.

"When peace was made we expected to enjoy it with the French, but at the same moment we learned that you, our English brothers, had killed one of our men and had hidden him in the ice.
When we demanded why you had killed him, you promised us satisfaction, but your ill-will towards us has been shown by your inaction during seven months, and we resolved to defend ourselves, and have destroyed a house. Since that a man and a woman of our village are missing. We have learned their sad fate by an English-woman who is now with us, who affirms that this man and woman were killed by the English in her presence, and as positive proof of this she has brought us a bag which we recognize as having belonged to these unfortunates. We were touched by this murder as we ought to be, and we avenged ourselves last year. The English that we have killed this year, ... and the two others taken prisoners, may attribute their hard fate to the fact that they have been caught hunting on our lands, and we repeat with all the firmness of which we are capable, that we will kill all the English that we find on our lands, ... if any of you are caught on our lands you will be killed."

THE IROQUOIS TO THE ABENAKIS.

"We have heard with pleasure your speech to the Englishman. We are delighted that you have defended your rights with spirit. We beg you to make your words good, if need be, and we promise to help you."

"Procés-Verbal,"[1] or official report of their embassy dated July 25, 1752, signed by Stevens and Wheelwright with their Interpreter Daniel Joseph Maddox:[2]

"Nous soufsignés Phineas Stevens et Nataniel Weerlight deputés par ordre de Monsieur S. Phips Lieutenant Gouverneur et Commandant en chef à Baston auprés de Monsieur le Baron de Longueuil

[1]Mass. Archives, Vol. 5, p. 542.

[2]Daniel Joseph Maddox, a naturalized captive, baptized in Montreal in 1710, married there in 1713, appears often on Canadian Archives as Interpreter to our ambassadors.

Gouverneur de Montréal et Commandant en Canada à l'effet de traitter (*sic*) de la liberté des prisonniers Anglois qui sont detenus en Canada certifions que mon dit Sieur Le Baron de Longueuil dès le six de Juin que nous sommes arrivés à Montreal, a donné ses ordres et nous a donné une entière liberté pour parler aux dits prisonniers, et les rapeller auprés de nous pour les ramener dans la nouvelle Angleterre.

Qu'en conséquence nous Nathaniel Wierlierlight nous fommes transportés aux trois Rivières et à Quebec, et avons conferé aux trois Rivierés en présence de Mr Rigaud de Vaudreuil Gouverneur, avec les Anglois faits prisonniers par les sauvages, et qui sont au pouvoir tant les dits savages que des François qui les ont rachetés.

Que la même facilité nous a été donnée à Quebec où nous nous sommes aussi transporté par M. le Chevalier de Longueüil Lieutenant de Roy Com^{dt} en la ditte [*sic*] Place.

Qu'à notre retour à Montreal nous avons rejoint le d'Sr Phinehas Stevens qui de son côté a travaillé à rapeller les dits Prisonniers qui sont dans le Gouvernement de Montreal. Et apres avoir fait le séjour que nous avons jugé necessaire en Canada, nous nous fommes déterminés à partir pour aller rendre compte de notre mission à Mr S. Phips notre Com^{dt} en chef et en conséquence nous declarons et affirmons Premièrement que les nommés cy aprés nous ont été delivrés, et que nous les ramenons avec nous Sçavoir

Thomas Stannard	racheté ci devant à Quebec par un françois des mains d'un Sauvage lequel françois lui a donné sa liberté gratuiteusement.
Samuel Lumbart Edouard Hinkley	retirés de chez le Sr Cadet à Quebec en lui payant cent livres, dont il s'est tenu content, quoy qu'il eût payé davantage aux Sauvages.
Amos Eastman Seth Webb	retirés de ches le Sr Gamelin à St François, en lui remboursant pour chacun trois cens livres qu'il avoit payeés aux Sauvages.
Oner Hancock	retiré de ches la dame Hertel de St François, en payant trois cens Livres qu'elle avoit payeés aux Sauvages.

W. H. Bartlett

Adlard

The Ottawa River at Bytown

Thimoty Mackerty	qui avoit resté malade à l'hôpital à Montreal, fait prisonnier pendant la guerre.
Joseph fortner	pris aux Miamis s'est retiré volontairement.

En second lieu qu'il ne nous a pas été possible de ravoir les nommés cy aprés quelques ordres que M. le Baron de Longueuil ait pu donner, Sçavoir

Berney Gradey	a voulu rester à Quebec.
Rachel Quaenbouts[1]	rachetée des sauvages par Mr De Rigaud, ou elle veut absolument rester, s'y trouvant parfaitement bien.
Jean Starkes	le d'Starkes vient d'être rendu sous promesse d'être remplacé par un esclave pris par les Abenakis de St François qui se sont obstinés à les garder quelques instances que Mr de Rigaud ait faites, les ayant adoptés.
Abigail Noble	pris et resté au pouvoir des Abenakis de Bequancourt qui l'ont adopté.
Salomon Mitchel	agé d'environ douze ans a voulu absolument rester à Montreal ches le Sr Des Pins, et Mr Le Baron de Longueuil n'a par cru devoir le forçer à partir, malgré luy.
Elizabeth schinner	a voulu rester ches M^{r} de St Ange Charly, qui l'a rachetêe des sauvages il y a quelques années, elle a fait abjuration.
Samuel freeman	Indien au pouvoir de Mr de la Corne St Luc a été pris à Sarastau[2] par les françois. M^{r} de St Luc le rendera pourvû qu'on le remplace quoy qu'il ait été décedé par feu M. le Marquis de la Jonquière qu'il était de bonne prise, et qu'il estoit esclave.

[1]This captive with several others, according to a Procés-Verbal dated June 25, 1750, having abjured Protestantism, absolutely refused to return with Lieut. Benjamin Stoddard of New York.

[2]Saratoga.

William ———	Négre pris à Chibouctou, au pouvoir de Mr Le Ch^{er} De La Corne qui le garde par les mêmes raisons que M^{r} de St Luc, et offre de le remettre aux mêmes conditions.
Thomas Neal	a voulu rester à Montreal.
Saras Davids	pris par les Iroquois du Sault Saint-Louis qui l'ont adopté et n'a pas voulu les quitter.

"En troisième lieu, nous déclarons et affirmons, que toutes perquisitions par nous faites, et quelques facilités que M^{r} Le Baron De Longueuil nous ait donné, nous n'avons point trouvé d'autres prisonniers Anglois en Canada. En foy de quoy nous nous sommes signés avec mon dit Sieur Baron de Longueuil et le Sr Maddox interprête en langue Angloise fait double à Montreal le vingt cinq juillet mil sept cens cinquante deux.

[Signed] Longueuil,
Phineas Stevens,
Nat. Wheelwright,
Dan^{ll} Joseph maddox."

"A List of the English Prisoners which the Abenakis Indians have brought to Quebec.[1] The Saint-François Indians to the Number of Forty have struck near Richmond Fort to revenge the Death of an Abenakis Chief which the English have killed near Boston, & have Brought in this City, the Prisoners following which they have sold to the French who was willing to buy them, vizt:

The Sieur Chalour[2] has bought one	
named Lazarus Noble for	£200.
For Cloathes furnish'd	40.
	£240.
Le S^{r}: Rivolt has bought	
Jabez Chub for	£200.
For Cloathes furnish'd	80.
	£280.

[1]Mass. Archives, Vol. 74, p. 57.

[2]M. St. Ange Charly?

W. H. Bartlett. R. Wallis.

St. John and Portland.

(New Brunswick.)

The S:[1] Turpine has bought	
John Rofs for	£150.
For Cloaths furnish'd	50.
	£200.
Mr Decouagne[2] has bought	
Abigail Noble for	£260.
For Cloaths Furnish'd	122 — 15[s]
	£282 — 15
Mrs Duperé has bought	
Anna Homes for	£200.
For Cloaths Furnish'd	50.
	£250.
The S: Bazin has bought	
Phillipps Jenkins for	£150
For Cloaths Furnish'd	100
	£250.

This man died at the Hospital
28. Oct. 1750.

Those which follows have been taken by the Becancourt Indians and bought of them.

The Cadet Bought John Marten he has Obtain'd permission of the Governor General to Return to New England and pafs'd his Note to the S[r]: Cadet for	£260.
M[rs] Fornel has bought	
William Rofs for	£124. — 10[s]
John Noble	150.
Marie Noble	184. — 10
For Cloaths Furnish'd	100.
	£559.

[1]Sieur. [2]DuQuesne.

Ten Algonkins of the same party has bought & sold to the S^{r}: Amiot

Mathew Noble for	£86.
For Cloaths Furnish'd	130. — 15^{s}
	£216 — 15

One named Solomon Whitney[1] made his Escape from amongst the Indians to whom the Governor General was not willing to give him back again, he died at the Hospital 18th Nov^{m} 1750.

Seth Webb Joseph Noble	} are [at] St François	
Frances Noble	at Montreal with Mr Strange[2] Bought for	£300.
Benj Noble	is at La Prairie with Du May Bought	£200.
Abigail Noble	at Becancourt.	
Timothy Whitney[3]	Bought and Paid	£315.

This Account taken from Capt. Stevens's List Feby 1, 1752 Pr J. Wheelwright."[4]

The embassy of Stevens and Wheelwright ends with the following letter[5] from the Governor of Canada of the same date as their Procés-Verbal. It is addressed to

"Mr S. Phips
L^{nt} Gouverneur et Com^{dt}: en chef à Baston."

[1]Whitten or Whidden.

[2]St. Ange.

[3]This is Timothy Whitton [see *ante*] bought and brought home by Capt. Stevens.

[4]The narratives of the captives mentioned in the above documents are in preparation by the author, being too long and too interesting to be summarized here.

[5]Mass. Archives, Vol. 5, pp. 548-553.

"Montréal le 25. Juillet. 1752.

Monsieur

En qualité de Commandant Du Canada par la mort de M^r^ Le Marquis De La Jonquiére j'ay l'honneur de répondre a la Lettre que votre Excellence a écrite a ce Général le 14 Avril dernier

Les ordres respectifs qui ont été donnés par Les Roys De France et De La Grande Bretagne, pour l'Echange mutuel des Prisonniers, récût son Execution dés l'année 1750, et Mr Stouder[1] votre Deputé du Gouvernement De New York ramena tous les prisonniers Anglois qui étoiént depuis la Guerre dans ce Gouvernement, ce dont feu De la Jonquiére rendit compte a la Com De france

quoy que ces Echanges fuffent entierement terminés, et que le dit Sr Stouder en eût, donné sa declaration par écrit, néanmoins j'ay reçû avec plaisir Mr Phineas Stevens, et Nathaniel Weerliwright, Deputés De votre Excellence pour la délivrance des mêmes Prisonniers vous verrés, [*sic*] Monsieur, par le Procés-verbal cy joint qu'ils ont eû une entière liberté pour travailler à leur recherche, et que je leur ai accordé mon authorité, pour avoir ceux qui sont dans cette colonie au pouvoir des sauvages, ou des françois qui les ont rachetés, ils en ramenent neuf avec eux et a l'égard de ceux qui ont resté vous verrés [*sic*] par le dit Procés-verbal les raisons qui n ont point permises a M^rs^ vos Deputés de les ramener.

Ce qu'il y a de bien certain, c'est qu'il ne resté par un seul prisonnier Anglois fait par les françois pendant la Guerre, dans cette Colonie; ils furent tous renvoyés en 1750 comme je viens d'avoir l'honneur de l'observer à votre Excellence, ils furent trés bien traittés pendant leur séjour dans ce Pays et l'ors [*sic*] de leur délivrance [*sic*] on n'eût garde d'exiger aucune rançon

Les Prisonniers dont il s'agit aujourd'huy, n'ont point été pris par les françois, ils l'ont été depuis la guerre par les sauvages, et si les instances De feu M^r^ Le Marquis de la Jonquière et les miennes auprés de ces nations avoient pû leur faire quelque impression elles ne se feroient point portées à faire les dits Prisoniers quelques fondées

[1]Lieut. Benjamin Stoddard of the New York militia.

qu'elles pretendent avoir étées [*sic*] ou du moins elles n'auroient point hésité à les mettre en liberté mais vous savés [*sic*] Monsieur que les sauvages de Canada comme ceux de partout ailleurs sont entièrement libres, et qu'ils ne sont point comptables de leurs actions envers de qui que ce soit aussy ne m'a t'il pas été possible de leur faire rendre les Anglois qu'ils ont adoptés dans leurs villages ce que M^rs^ vos Deputés ramenent avec Eux auroient vraisemblablement subi le même sort, si des françois par des sentiments d'humanité ne les avoient retirés des mains de ces sauvages, en leur payant une rançon que M^rs^ vos Deputés leur ont remboursé avec justice et connoissance de cause.

Il n'y a aucune sauvage Prisonnier dans cette Colonie, j'ay toujours ignoré qu'il y eût des sauvages sujets au Gouvernement Anglois; ce seroit une nouveauté merveilleuse dont les françois n'oseroient jamais se flatter, les sauvages de cette colonie ne reconnoissant aucune authorité [*sic*] et n'ayant d'autre Loy que leur passion et leur caprice.

Les Abenakis de St François ont parlés a Mr Stevens[1] votre deputé de façon a ne laisser aucun doûte à cet égard, je n'ai eû aucune part à leurs paroles, j'en ay seulement été témoin et j'ay bien voulu, pour faire plaisir à M^rs^ vos Deputés, faire transcrire ces paroles, et leur en donner une copie que j'ay certifiée.

Si vous souhaittés [*sic*] Monsieur, y repondre vous pourrés [*sic*] me les adresser, et je les ferai parvenir aux dits Abenakis Je supplie, votre Excellence d'etre persuadée pendant que J'auray le Commandemant de ce Pays et dans tous autre tems [*sic*] je feray toujours mon possible pour correspondre à la Bonne intelligence qui doit regner entre nous, et vous prouver que je suis avec un profond respect

Monsieur,

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

Longueuil."

The occasion of Major Wheelwright's next embassy to Canada was as follows:

[1]See *ante*.

W. H. Bartlett. W. Mossman.

Orford Mountain

During the summer of 1753, Lazarus Noble and Benjamin Mitchell had been sent to Canada by Lieut. Gov. Phips, then acting as governor of Massachusetts, with a passport and official letters demanding the release of their children, who with others had been captured at Swan Island. This mission had been futile, and Noble and Mitchell had been badly treated in Canada.

Indignant at the treatment of its envoys, the General Court of Massachusetts, upon the return of Governor Shirley from England, desired him to demand restitution of all the captives in Canada. The story is thus told in the records:

At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston upon Tuesday, Oct. 23, 1753. Present His Excellency William Shirley, Esq. Gov. His Excellency laid Before the Board the Draught of a Letter he proposed to send to the Governour of Canada agreeable to the Desire of the General Assembly to demand the Restitution of the Captives in his Government—Which being read and considered was approved of.[1]

At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston upon Wednesday, October 31, 1753. . . . . .

His Excellency asked the advice of the Council respecting the manner of Sending his Letter to the Governour of Canada for demanding the Restitution of the English captives—Which Matter being fully considered it was Advised that His Excellency send the said Letter by some suitable Person to be by him Commifsionated to make the Demand of the said Captives—and His Excellency having accordingly appointed Mr Nathaniel Wheelwright for that Service: Advised and Consented that a Warrant be made out to the Treasurer to advance & Pay unto the said Nathaniel Wheelwright the sum of Ninety Pounds towards his Charges in his proposed journey to Canada, he to be accountable for the same;
and it was further Advised and Consented that a Warrant be made out to the Treasurer to pay unto Mr Nathaniel Wheelwright the

[1]Council Records, Vol. 12, 1747-1755, p. 306.

Sum of Thirty-four Pounds one shilling and eleven Pence to discharge his Accompt of Expenses in his late Journey to Canada in Company with Capt. Phineas Stevens in the service of this Government.

Gov. Shirley's letter to the governor of Canada, sent by Nathaniel Wheelwright, dated Boston, October 22, 1753,[1] is a most interesting document. In it he complains of the insult to the ambassadors as a "violation of the Amity between the two nations," as "contrary to the Laws of Humanity," and "an Infringement of the Natural Rights of Mankind." In closing he says "I now send Mr. Nathaniel Wheelwright . . . . . to Demand of you the Restitution . . . . . of any other English Captives belonging to this Government which may be found in the hands of the French in Canada, and desire that Your Excy: would Use Your Influence and Power over the Indians in whose hands the . . . . . beforementioned Children may now be found for the Immediate Delivery of them, likewise of any other English of this Province whom they have made Captive, to the said Mr Nathaniel Wheelwright.

I have the Honour to be wth very great Regard,
Sir, Your Excys most Humble and most
Obedient Servant."

[no signature.]

"—— November, 1753.

Instructions to Mr. Nathaniel Wheelwright who is commissioned to transact affairs with the goverr of Canada for the Release of English captives.[2] Having appointed & Commissioned you to proceed in the Service of this Government to Canada for the Redemption of English Captives belonging to this Province. You are hereby directed to set out on your journey as soon as may be The Season of

[1] Mass. Archives, Vol. V, p. 554.

[2] Mass. Archives, Vol. 74, p. 135.

the Year not admitting of Delay, Taking with you such Persons either English or Indians as you shall find necessary for your Guidance & safe Conduct thither and as soon as you shall arrive at the French Fort at Crown Point you must apply to the Commanding officer there for a safe & speedy Conveyance to the Place where the Governor Gen[l] shall then reside. Upon your Arrival at the Place of the Governor's Residence you must immediately wait upon him with my Letter & after Delivery thereof acquaint him that you are appointed by me to solicit the affairs contained in the said Letter, (and if need be to shew him your Commission for that Purpose) and desire that he would appoint you some proper time to treat with him about these Matters. When the [sd] Governor shall admit you to a Conference on that subject, you must Signify to him that you do by my Order in the name of His Majesty the King of Great Britain demand that he would cause to be Delivered up to you the English Captives belonging to this Province who are detained by the French in his Governm[t] contrary to the Peace and Amity now subsisting between Great Britain & France. If he should consent to the Delivery of them either with or without Ransom, you must take care of their Speedy & safe conveyance to Boston. If he should insist upon the Ransomes as they were Purchas'd out of the Hands of the Indians you must shew him the Unreasonableness of such a Demand considering that their Fathers[1] with great Expence & Loss of Time had made a Journey to Canada with Credentials from this Governm[t], with Money in their Hands for Procuring their Release, but were violently driven out of the Country before they had Time to effect it. If finally you shall not be able to get off the Ransom Money, you must draw upon the Treasurer of this Province to pay the Same.

You must likewise Request the Governor of Canada to use his Endeavor to get any other Captives now in the hands of the Indians to be delivered up to you; and you are upon such Encouragement to treat with the Indians for their Ransom & agree with them upon any reasonable Sum or Sums & draw upon the Treasurer for Payment thereof as aforesaid. When you shall have accomplished your

[1]Lazarus Noble and Benjamin Mitchell.

business as far as you are able & the Season will admit of your Travel, you must return back to Boston first waiting on the Govern[r] of Canada for his answer to my Letter which if he should decline to do by Writing & do it by a Verbal Message have such Message or Reply down in Writing as Soon as you can that there may be no Mistake in it thro Forgetfulness: You must ask the Govern[rs] Passes for your Safe Conduct thro the French Territory.

Given under my hand at Boston the —— Day of Novem[br] Anno Domini 1753 in the 27th Year of his Majes[tys] Reign.

W. Shirley."

Letter from Major Nathaniel Wheelwright to Governor Shirley:[1]

"Montreal, Nov. 30, 1753.

Sir,

I had the honour the 11th of November past to acquaint your Excellency of my arrival at Albany which place I left as soon as possible, and made all the Despatch I could on my journey and voyage to Canada. Permit me to advise Your Excellency by this opportunity that I arrived with Mr. Lydius and my servant yesterday noon at Montreal[2] we were immediately conducted by the officer who was sent with us from Fort St. Frederic, and introduced by him to the General, Monsieur le Marquis Du Quesne who asked me my business I acquainted him that I was sent by Your Excellency to have the Honour to deliver him a letter which he received and immediately retired into his cabinet. He soon returned saying the letter was in English and that he would send for some person to translate it. Then very genteelly told me as I was not a stranger I might go and repose myself and procure Lodgings where I pleased. After dinner he sent an officer, Monsieur St. Luc la Corne, who is my particular friend, and much in favor with the General, this gentleman surprised me with a message from his Excellency, that he had been informed that the last time I came into the country, I had with me an Engineer who passed for my Domestick, and that I had

[1]Mass. Archives, Vol. 54, pp. 263-266.

[2]Nov. 29, 1753.

W H Bartlett

Coburg.

with his assistance taken a plan of this City, Quebec, and the River I assured the Gentleman it was false, and that some ill-minded busy person must have raised the report, to prevent my having an opportunity to execute the Commifsion I had the Honour to receive from your Excellency, and desired he would afsure the General the truth of this. He did and was kind enough to acquaint me in the evening that the General had your Excellency's letter translated, and would see me in the morning, when he sent for me, as soon as I paid my respects to him, he desired me to withdraw with him into his cabinet where I had the Honour to converse with him more than an hour without Interruption. He very genteelly told me he was charmed to have an Opportunity of a Correspondence with your Excellency and that he would answer your Excellency's letter very particularly: he was surprised at your Excellency's mentioning his not answering Mr. Phipps his letter which he assured me he never received. He then said he had been informed that I came into the Country the last time with some other design than for prisoners, but he was now persuaded to the contrary and did me the Honour to say I might stay a convenient time to accomplish my affairs, that I should be at Liberty, and should want no assistance he could give me; that I should go when it was agreeable to me to three Rivers, St. Francis & Becancourt with an Interpreter to endeavour to get those captives.[1] He also gave orders to Monsieur St. Luc to go with me to Monsieur DePain,[2] and acquaint him that it was his orders that I should have liberty to see and converse with the English boy, Mitchell's son at all times and as often as I pleased. I saw the Boy but had not time to say much to him. Permit me to assure your Excellency that I shall omit no opportunity to endeavour to reconcile him to return to his Parents. M[r] Noble's child which Monsieur St. Ange Charly has the care of, and which he assured me with great grief the last time I was in the country was dead, is now at three Rivers at the Convent. I hope your Excellency will be satisfied with my Conduct and permit me to assure you that I shall be very circumspect in my behaviour, and shall

[1]From Swan Island.

[2]See Procés-Verbal.

punctually observe your Excellency's Instructions: Should your Excellency have any further commands during my stay in Canada and should send your letters to Col. Lydius at Albany he may have an oppertunity in the winter[1] of conveying your Letters to this Place. The Inclos[d] letter I had the Honour to receive from the General in answer to that I had the Honour to receive of Your Excellency and Delivered Him. Your Excellency will I hope Forgive the Liberty I take to inclose a letter for my Good Father.[2]

Your Excellency will excuse my giving you a particular account of the Country. They have had a plentiful summer and a very fine Harvest in this part of the Country. Permit me that I have the Honour to be with the utmost Respect Your Excellency's most

Obedient and most Humble Servant

Nat: Wheelwright."

Letter from M. DuQuesne, Governor General of Canada to Governor Shirley of Massachusetts enclosed in that of Major Wheelwright:[3]

"Mountroyal Dec[r] 1st: 1753

S[r]: I have had the Honour of a Letter from your Excellency dated the 22[d] of Oct[r]: last Jn which J was surpriz'd to find a circumstantial Proof of my Being honour'd with a Letter from M[r]: Phips On Occasion of a Journey undertaken to this Place by Benjamin Mitchel & Lazarus Noble to recover their Children.

Tho J have not the Honour to be known to your Excellency J flatter mySelf you will readily believe this Letter could never have reach'd me, since J had not answer m[r]: Phipp's Civility, who merits all Respect as well on his own Account, as of the Post he sustain'd, and it would be a heinous piece of Jncivility of which a man of Rank cannot be thought capable.

With regard to the ill succefs the above mentioned Persons met with, your Excellency will give me leave to observe, that if J sent

[1]Proof that Major Wheelwright remained in Canada during the whole or a part of the winter of 1753-4.

[2]John Wheelwright of Boston, member of the Governor's Council.

[3]Mass. Archives, Vol. V, p. 558.

them away sooner than J might have design'd, they must look upon it as wholly occasioned by the Interpreter, whom they had chosen[1] who was a Person that Return'd here of a very suspected Character, and who besides began to behave in so insolent a manner, that J determined to cause him to depart immediately, rather than to be forc'd to put him into Prison.

But to convince your Excellency how sensibly J was touch'd with the lively Sorrow these Fathers felt at returning home without carrying their Children with them. I sent for the Child that is with one Despin and before all the Officers of this Government reproached him with his bad temper in not being willing to follow his Father. He told me for answer, bursting into tears, that absolutely he would not leave his Master.

As it is Evident they are Slaves fairly sold J did not think proper to oblige their masters to give them up, which would have been done without any Difficulty, if they had been Prisoners of war.

Your Excellency will now be Sensible of what Jmportance it is on such an Occasion to make choice of such a Person as Mr Wheelwright for Negotiatour. Since he will have the Honour to Jnform you that as He was the Bearer of your Excellency's Letter J gave him a very Suitable Reception & promis'd him Protection in everything his Commifsion related to.

I depend upon Your Excellency's being perfectly convinced of my Earnestnefs in concurring to maintain the Friendship that subsists between the two Crowns, when you are Inform'd that, at your Jnstance J have interposed my authority to cause the two Children, that are in the hands of ye French to be restor'd and have given Mr Wheelwright an Jnterpreter to signify to the Abenakis of St François & Becancourt, that they cannot do me so great a Pleasure as by releasing the three other Children that are with them.

Your Excellency will have the Goodnefs to look upon it in this Case, as an unavailing thing to lay my Commands on the Jndians, and that it is to be done only by Treaty, which can be Concluded by nothing but a Ransom to influence them because they are ex-

[1]This was Anthony Van Schaack of N. Y. He had been before imprisoned in Canada.

tremely attached to their Slaves; This I leave to the Prudence with which I think m^r^ Wheelwright capable of conducting & J very Readily give him all the assistance in my Power.

J am very far from pretending to Deprive the Children of your Excellency's Nation, which were taken during a profound Peace, of their Liberty and Religion, when they are Happy enough to have fallen into the Hands of the French, over whom I have an Absolute Power, but J repeat it to your Excellency, that J cannot Answer for the Jnclinations of the Jndians in this Case, for there is nothing so difficult as to get their Slaves from them, especially when they have distributed them among their Wigwams to make up for their Dead J hasten to inform your Excellency that J have the honour to afsure you, that in whatever depends immediately upon me, you will receive intire Satisfaction, as no one is more desirous than J am of corresponding with you as frequently as J do with Mr Hopson: J assure you every Thing ingages me to it: Your Excellency's Reputation which is known to me: your distinguished Merit in all Respects, and the Desire J have to maintain & augment the good Understanding and harmonie which ought to subsist between the respective Governours of the two Provinces in Amity, must be to you a sure Pledge that J shall keep these objects in view with as much Alacrity & Earnestnefs as J am desirous of proving personally the infinite Respect with which J have the Honour to be

S^r^

Your Excellency's
most humble & most
obedient Servant
Du Quesne.

J take the Liberty to pray your Excellency the favour with your leave the Packett directed by me to the Duke de Mirepoix Embassadour to his Britannic Majesty."

That Mr. Wheelwright's despatches were duly received in Boston, appears by the following:[1]

[1]Mass. Archives, Vol. 6, p. 155.

"In the House of Representatives Jan. 8, 1754, It was Ordered that Mr. Speaker, Col. Partridge & Mr Lyman with such as the Honble Board shall join be a Committee to take under Consideration the Letters of the Governor of Canada & Mr Nathaniel Wheelwright to his Excellency the Governor communicated to the Court this Day, & Report what it may be proper for the Court to do.

Sent up for Concurrence.

T. Hubbard, Speak^r."

"Wednesday, January 9. 1754.

Present in Council . . . . .

The Secretary by Order of his Excellency laid before the two Houses a Letter His Excellency had received from the Governor of Canada and another from Mr Nathaniel Wheelwright respecting the English Captives in the hands of the French & Indians there

In the House of Representatives Ordered that Mr Speaker, Col. Patridge & Mr Lyman with such as the Honble Board shall join be a Comm^tee to take under Consideration the Letters of the Governor of Canada & Mr Wheelwright to His Excellency the Governor and Report what may be proper to be done thereon—

In Council Read & Concurr'd and Jacob Wendell & Eleazer Porter Esq^rs are joined in the affair."[1]

While the Governor and Council in Boston were considering the despatches received from Wheelwright, he was eagerly prosecuting his search for the captives in Canada. Having got possession of Elinor Noble and others, he left them at Three Rivers and proceeded on his memorable visit to his aunt Esther at the Ursuline convent in Quebec.

I find no mention in our Archives of his return to Boston, or of his employment later in the service of the government. I therefore conclude that Nathaniel Wheelwright went only twice to Canada; his second embassy extending from the early autumn of 1793, into the late spring of 1794, having misled me at first into the statement [see *ante*,] that he went

[1]Council Records, Vol. 20. Also in Mass. Archives, Vol. 6.

three times as ambassador to Canada. Proof of this conclusion seems to me to be also given as follows:

"In the House of Representatives, Dec. 27, 1754.

Inasmuch as Sundry persons belonging to this Province, some of whom were Soldiers & taken from the fort on Kennebec River are now in Captivity in Canada—and as this Court have been Informed that there are also divers Persons in Captivity at Canada belonging to the Government of New Hampshire. Therefore, voted that the Governor of Massachusetts, write to the Governor of New Hampshire & Inform him that this Court proposes to employ Capt. Phinehas Stevens of N° 4, to go to Canada to Redeem the captives of Massachusetts provided that New Hampshire joins and pays its proportion of the expence of the Same."

A letter of the same date as the above vote was at once sent by Governor Shirley of Massachusetts to Governor Benning Wentworth of N. H.[1] asking his co-operation in sending Phineas Stevens of N. H. on this joint embassy, the expenses of the journey to be proportionately paid by both governments. Governor Wentworth replies:

"Portsmouth, Jan. 4, 1755.

Sir, Haveing with great difficulty at last prevailed with the Assembly to unite with your Excy^{s} Government in Employing Cap. Stevens of Charlestown to proceed to Canada in order to redeem the Captives belonging to this Government now in the hands of the French & Inds. I must Desire your favour in Despatching him here as soon as possible, the Sec. having wrote him by my order to that purpose. The Sum already voted is £150. Stirling, but I am hoping to get it Enlarged by Capt. Stevens arrival. I am with great Esteem

Sr Your Excellency^{s} most Obedient
humble Servant,

B. Wentworth"[2]

[1] Mass. Archives, Vol. 5, p. 196.

[2] Mass. Archives, Vol. 5, p. 199.

W. H. Bartlett. J. B. Allen

Fredericton, New Brunswick.

While this embassy is pending one Johnson arrives in Boston, empowered by the government of New Hampshire to go to Canada for the redemption of captives and desires to be employed by Massachusetts for the same purpose. There arriving "Just upon his Departure some Intelligence that made it appear not convenient that he should proceed at this time," he was called back by Shirley and detained in Boston.

"Feb. 8, 1755.[1]

In the House of Representatives: Ordered that Col. Hale, Mr. Welles & Mr. Quincy with such as the Honble Board shall join, be a Committee to Consider of some Proper Method for the Redemption of the Captives now in Canada, belonging to this Province. In Council Read & Concurred and Samuell Watts & Thomas Hutchinson Esq^s are joined in the affair."

"At a Council held Tuesday, Feb. 11, 1755.[2] In Council Read a first & second time & passed a Concurrence.

A Report referring to the Redemption of Captives in Canada Pursuant to the above Directions the Committee have attended the Service assigned them; and are humbly of the opinion that it is not Convenient at this time for the Court to Employ any Person in Purchasing Captives belonging to this Province; now in Canada. It appearing to the Committee that the Indians have by Means of such Purchases been encouraged to continue their Depredations upon our Frontiers, and the Committee are further of the opinion that no Effectual way can be Projected to put an End to their Depredations but by Revenging the Injury upon the Indians themselves or upon those by whom they were imployed. Which is Humbly submitted.

Per Samuel Watts per Order.

In Council read and Ordered that the Report be accepted."

The last mention of Wheelwright's services as ambassador is the following:[3]

[1]General Court Records, Vol. 20, p.357.

[2]General Court Records, Vol 20.

[3]Council Records, 1747-1755.

"Att a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston upon Thursday, the 27 of February 1755:

Advised & Consented that a warrant be made out to the Treasurer to pay unto the Persons herein after mentioned the following sums to discharge the Accounts by them respectively exhibited viz:

To Mr. Nathaniel Wheelwright the Sum of Three Hundred & Seventy three Pounds & Six pence, being the Ballance of his Accompt of Charges in his late Negotiations in Canada for the Redeeming of Captives."

Later, Governor Shirley writes to explain to Governor Wentworth, his action in not permitting Johnson to proceed to Canada.[1]

C.

EUNICE WILLIAMS.

THE SIEURS DE LA PERIÈRE AND DUPUIS, AMBASSADORS FROM CANADA TO LEARN THE CONDITION OF THINGS IN ORANGE "PRETEXTING AN EXCHANGE" OF BARENT STAATS, NEPHEW OF PETER SCHUYLER FOR FATHER MAREUIL, THREE OTHER DUTCHMEN FOR THREE FRENCHMEN, AND JOHN ARMES OF DEERFIELD ON PAROLE FOR ENSIGN DE VERCHÈRES ("BOVENEY.")

By a letter from the Intendant, M. de Ramezay to the Marquis de Vaudreuil written at Montreal the 19th of October, 1709,[2] we learn that Lieut. Barent Staats, the husband of Peter Schuyler's niece, was captured Oct. 12, 1709, near Fort Nicholson and carried to Canada, arriving in Montreal, Oct. 18th.

[1]Letter from Governor Shirley to Governor Benning Wentworth, Mass. Archives, Vol. 5.

[2]N. Y. Col. Doc. Vol. IX, p. 838.

May 1st, 1710, M. de Vaudreuil writes to M. de Pontchartrain :[1]

"The Onnontagués . . . . . request me not to harm Peter, that is the government of Orange, protesting that Peter and the Dutch had been forced by the English to take up arms against us. As these Indians requested me, My Lord, to be pleased to permit them to untie the cords of Peter's nephews—that is of the Dutch prisoners—whom I held in my hands, I embraced that opportunity to learn distinctly the condition of things in the government of Orange, and pretexting an exchange with Peter Schuyler, of his nephew for Father de Mareuil, the Jesuit missionary of Onontagué, and of three other Dutchmen for three Frenchmen, and of an officer belonging to the Boston government whom I have here[2] for Ensign de Verchères,[3] I sent Sieurs de la Perière and Dupuis and six other Frenchmen and an Indian to Orange," . . . . . I go up to Montreal, My Lord . . . . . to be in a better position for learning what is transpiring within the government of Orange and among the Iroquois, either by the return of Messrs de la Perière and Dupuis or from letters they will find an opportunity to write me." . . . . .

De Vaudreuil's despatches to the Minister, in June, 1710, and his letter of Oct. 31 of the same year give us the following :

"Sieurs de la Perière and Dupuis having left Orange so as to arrive at Montreal at the opening of the navigation. I found them there at my arrival together with Father Mareuil, Jesuit, whom the

[1]N. Y. Col. Doc. Vol. IX, p. 842.

[2]John Arms of Deerfield, Mass.

[3]Seigneur de Verchères, officer of the Carignan regiment, had two sons and a daughter, the heroine Madeleine de Verchères. His eldest son was killed at Haverhill, Aug. 29, 1708. See Parkman, Frontenac, p. 302 and Half Century of Conflict I, p. 94. The younger son Beauvenir de Verchères figures in our Archives as "Boveney," and was for several years a captive in Boston and Albany. John Arms of Deerfield and Johnson Harmon of York were sent at different times as exchange for him, but he was long held by Dudley for Eunice Williams's return.

English carried off last year from Onnontagué, where he was on the mission. This Jesuit and these two officers . . . . . informed me that Boston was not disarming and even was expecting a reinforcement from Europe to make an attack by sea either on this country or on Acadia."

The story of "Boveney" and John Arms and Johnson Harmon is thus continued in our Archives:

"At a Council held at the Council Chamber, Boston, upon Tuesday Ult° [28th] February, 1709,[1] Present His Excellency Joseph Dudley Esq Gov. &c., &c., &c. His Excellency communicated A letter from Col. Partridge received by an Express the night past accompanying letters to him from the Commissioners at Albany and copy of a letter from Mr Vaudreuil to Col. Peter Schuyler sent by his messengers from Mont Real now attendg at Albany[2] who brought in with them some Dutch prisoners & one John Armes of Deerfield upon their parole to return back with them in case they could not obtain their release by exchange for French Prisoners at New Yorke and some in the hands of this Government And the heads of a Letter to Col. Partridge were agreed upon to be Signed by the Secretary."[3]

"Letter to Col. Partridge[4] relating to mr Vaudrueil' messengrs at Albany,—and French Prisonrs.

Boston February ult: [28th] 1709-10.

Sr

His Excellency has this day communicated in Council your Letters to himselfe accompanying those from the Magistrates of Albany with the Copy of a Letter from mr Vaudreuil directed to Col. Peter Schuyler by the hand of his Mefsengers there attending from Mont-Real on pretence of negotiating an Exchange of Dutch Prisoners & one Armes of Deerfield brought thither with them, for some

[1]Council Records, Vol. 5, pp. 191-192.

[2]Sieurs de la Perière and Dupuis.

[3]See Secretary Addington's letter *ante*.

[4]Mass. Archives, Vol. 51, p. 192.

French Prisoners at New Yorke & Beuvenire taken at Haverhill and Le-ffever, two of theirs in our hands, the latter proposed to be Exchanged for Armes with a great Demand upon him for his redemption out of the hands of the Indians. It's no hard thing to penetrate into their Intreagues, the Designe being to conciliate a new friendship and neutrality with the Albanians as they have lately had; to gain Intelligence of the motions and preparations of the English and leave this and other Her Majesty^{s} Colonys to take care for themselves. Mr Vaudreuil takes no notice of his Excellency, neglects to write to him, thinking to obtain his Prisoners from hence by the Interposition of the Gent^{s} at Albany; well knowing how false he has been and Violated his promises made Once & again to return all the English Prisoners, and that long since, upon which all the French Prisoners on his side were sent home by way of Port-Royal. Knowing also his Excy^{s} Resolution never to set up an Algiers trade to Purchase the Prisoners out of his hands and Direction not to have them sent to Albany but to have them brought in a Vessell by water from Canada or down Kennebec River to Casco Bay or Piscataqua. In which Resolution he continues and it is agreeable to the mind of the Council.

So that Armes must go back with the Messengers, unlefs he can otherwise obtain his Liberty; you will further Examin him particularly referring to the State of Quebeck and Mont-Real how they are as to Provisions and Clothing, what store-ships arrived there the last Summer and other Shipping and what are there now? what new Fortification they raysed in the Summer past and where ?

And by the next Post from Albany you must send for Beuvenire from thence and write to the Major and Magistrate to adjust the Accompt of the Demand for his Keeping, which as is Intimated is very Extravagant beyond what is usually allowed for Prisoners and Let draw upon the Governm^{t} here for payment and It shall be Done. In case the Hunting Mohawks attend you Its thought advisable that Major Stoddard joyne a Serg^{t} & six Centinels of his best Hunters wth them who will take care to observe them and they will be a good out scout for which you have his Excellency^{s} Letter & Order wth this.

You may Adjust the Post as is propos[d] from Albany. If the service will be as well Perform'd & the Charge of the Province be thereby Eased but the Albanians must not think to make a Purse from us and to Exact more than it would be done for by our own People It being much better that they have y[e] Advantage of what must be necessarily Expended.

This by the Order of his Exce[y] with the Advice of the Council from

Sr

Your very humble Servant

J[s] Addington Secy.

The Letter to M[r] Vaudreuil must be sent to Albany by y[e] Post & forwarded from thence by an Ind w[th]out Charge or otherwise by y[e] french Messengers there now attending."

"At a Council held &c. upon Monday, the 6th of March, 1709, [1709-10][1]

Present His Excellency Joseph Dudley, Esq., Governor. &c., &c.

John Armes of Deerfield, a prisoner with the French in Mount Real & permitted to come with the French messengers to Albany upon his parole, attended bringing a letter from Col. Partridge & another from Mr. Williams, and gave some further account of affairs there and was dismissed, the Governor and Council not seeing reason to alter anything of their direction to Col. Partridge by their letters the last week."[2]

"Tuesday 30th, March, 1710, His Excellency communicated to the Council a letter from Col. Partridge and another from Mr. Williams, Minister of Deerfield, accompanying some letters from Albany referring to Bovenee a French Prisoner of War sent by His Excellency the year past to Albany with intent to be exchanged for Mr. Williams' daughter, prisoner in the hands of the enemy."

As we have seen by De Vaudreuil's dispatches to the French minister, the Sieurs de la Perière and Dupuis returned to Montreal before the opening of navigation; unac-

[1]Council Records, Vol. 5, pp. 193-194.

[2]i. e. by Secretary Addington's letter to Partridge of Feb. 28, 1709-10.

a ½

b ½

c ½

M.W.H.

companied, however, by John Arms, their prisoner on parole.

THE FOLLOWING IS FROM JOHN ARMS TO COL. PARTRIDGE.[1] PETITION OF JOHN ARMES, ON PAROLE AS EXCHANGE FOR SIEUR DE VERCHÈRES. ["BOVENEY."]

"Deerfield, May ye 27, 1710.

Worthy & Reverant Si^r^ Thes Lins are to inform yourself of ye account of my Charges Both for my time & expences, sence I Came into this Contrey ye time that I spent in waiting on ye french Gentleman at Albany & in ye marching in ye woods Contains ten 10 wekes whic at 12 pence par day is 03—00—00
ye charges for my Diyat & Lodging was 02—06—00
& my charge for 2 horses jorny to Allbany
at 10 shilens par jorney 01—00—00
having giving yourself an account only
for my time & my diat & my lodging & my
horses jorney all amounts to six pounds
six shlens. 06—06—0

pray s present my humble Duty to his Excelency and inform him of my Dificult surcumstance both in Canada, being then a wounded prisener & stript of all my clothes I could get none out of ther magesend but was fourst to by them with my one money having Credit with a gentleman there & allso of my oblagasion that I am now under which I supose that ye french Cap^tn^ has informed his exelency abought & intreat his Excelency to helpe me in so Dificult A cas as I am under: j shall not ade but Remain your humble saurvuent Joh Arms."

"To His Excellency Joseph Dudley Esq^s^ Captaine Generalle in Cheife &c to ye Honourable Counsell & Representatives in Generall Corte assembled this 31 May 1710.

J Humbly Move in behalf of John Armes now at Derefield a prisoner to the Frentch being taken by the enemy in June was twelve month & Carried to Canada & since he came hither hath been at

[1]Mass. Archives, Vol. 71, pp. 630-631.

great Charges at Albany as per account annexed prays it may be allowed & payd him out of the treasury of this province as alsoe Such other allowances for his Losses of his tyme & Cloathing his wounds &c as this Corte may judge meete & just & for yor Excellency & Honors Shall ever Pray Samll Partridge in behalfe

of John Armes afores^{d}

In Council 1st June 1710. Read and Recommended

In House of representatives June 16: Read and Comitted

" 17 Read & In Answer to the above Petition Resolved That the Sum of Six Pounds and Six Shillings be Allowed & paid out of the publick Treasury to the Honble Samuel Partridge Esq for the use of the s^{d} Armes

Sent up for Concurrence John Park Speaker, 17 June, 1710. Read & concurred Js^{a} Addington Sec^{y}"[1]

PETITION OF JOHNSON HARMON, OF YORK, SENT ON PAROLE AS EXCHANGE FOR SIEUR DE VERCHÈRES. ["BOVENEY."]

"To his Excellency Joseph Dudley Esqr Cap^{n} Gen^{ll} & Govr in Chief of her Maj^{ties} Province of the Massachusetts Bay &c and The Honble: Councill and House of Representatives The Humble Petition of Johnson Harman of the Town of York in the Province of Main

Sheweth

That Yo^{r} Petitioner being about his Lawfull Occations at winter Harbour on the 8th day of October last, was taken captive by a party of Penobscot & Kennebeck Indians & by them Carried to Quebecq in Canada, where he continued a Prisoner untill the 22nd day of may following, Having Borrowed some money of Maj Levingston & other friends, by it prevailed on Maj Parotte to come home to see his family & settle his affairs, Providence favouring this good humour of Monsr De Vaudrieull, and his Excellency's Goodnefs to Return A Prisoner from here in his Room, (which Favour is for Ever to be Acknowledged) But now he is Commanded away in

[1]Mass. Archives, Vol. 71, pp. 630-631. Also Gen. Court Records Vol. 9, p. 39.

the Present Expedition (wherein he hopes & Designs to do Some Signall Service) But his Misfortunes are such by this imprisonm^{t} and his affairs are such that all that is Dear & good to him lies at stake & his family Suffers Extreamly for want of his being at home &c

Therefore he humbly prays this Hon^{bl}^{e}: afsembly to Consider the Great fateigue & Expence he hath been at & the poor Circumstances of his family and affairs, & to afford them Some Support & help to fit himself out in his Station this Expedition as in yor Wisdom Shall seem meet

And yor Pet. as in Duty bound shall ever pray &c Johnson Harmon"

July 24th 1711 In the House of Representatives

"In answer to this petition

Voted that Twenty Pounds be paid the petition^{r} out of the province Treasury

Sent up for Concurrence[1] John Burrill Speaker"

July 24. 1711.

"Upon Reading the Petition of Johnson Harman of York late Prisoner of Quebec, Praying Consideration of the great Fatigue & Expence he has been at & the poor Circumftance of his Family & Affairs Voted in Concurrence with the House of Representatives, That the Sum of Twenty Pounds be paid to the Petitioner out of the Treasury of this Province:—[2] Consented to. J. Dudley."

While Johnson Harmon of York, Me., a captive in Canada, was at Chambly fort on his return to New England on parole, to be exchanged for "Boveney," he received the following interesting letter from Father Meriel. I give it to show Father Meriel's knowledge of the English language and his facility in its use. The original is in Mass. Archives, Vol. 51, pp. 212-213:

[1]Mass. Archives, Vol. 71, p. 819.

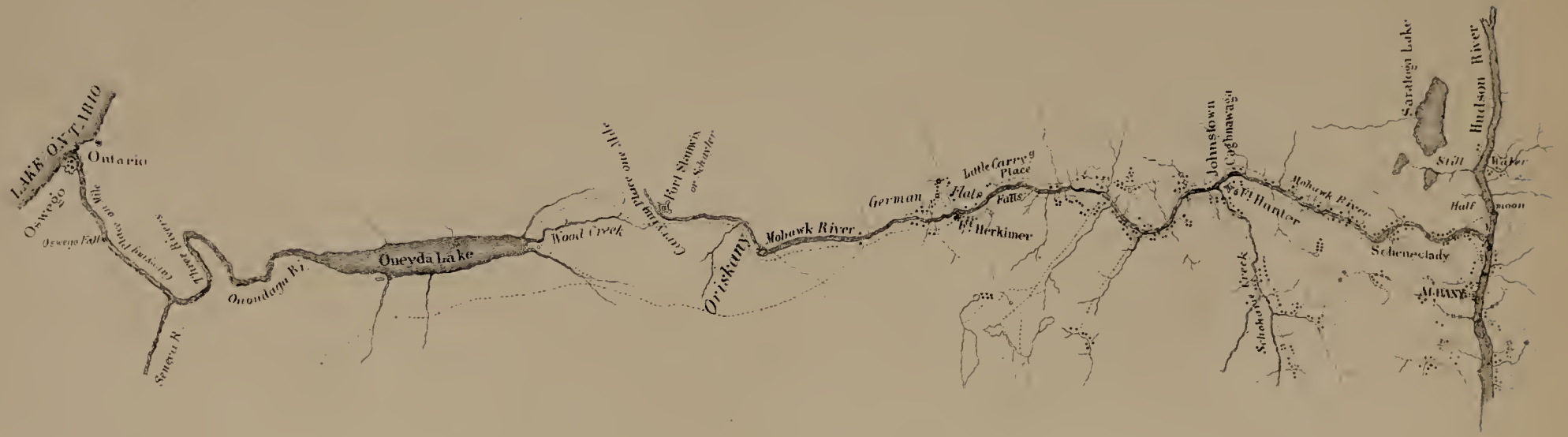
[2]Court Records, 1709-1715. Vol. 9, p. 138.

"To Mr Johnson Harmon
at Shamblee.

Sir,

Since you are gone, a Squaw of the nation of the Abnakis is come in from Boston. She has a pass from your Governour. She go's about getting a little girl, daughter of Mr John Williams. The Lord Marquess of Vaudreuil helps her as he can. The business is very hard because the girl belongs to Indians of another sort[1] and the master of the English girl is now at Albany. You may tell your Governour that the squaw can't be at Boston at the time appointed and that she desires him not to be impatient for her return, and meantime to take good care of her two papows. The same Lord Chief Governour of Canada has insured me in case she may not prevail with the Mohoggs for Eunice Williams, he shall send home four English persons in his power for an exchange in the Room of the two Indian children. You see well, Sir, your Governor must not disregard such a generous proffer as according to his noble birth and obliging genious ours makes. Else he would betray little affection to his own people. The Lord Marquess of Vaudreuil has got a letter for Madam Vetch which he's very glad to see safely convey'd unto her. I pray Sir you with all my heart to present unto her my most humble respects. We have at Kebeck two vessels by means whereof we have had this information. In Spain the King and under him the Duke of Vendome have upon the 9 and 10 of December Last fought a great battle wherein an army of 25,000 men has been routed. General Stanhope and 5,000 others taken prisoners at Brihuega. General Staremburg with 4,000 men only made their escape and retired to Barcelona whither before him the Archduke of Austria repaired. The Duke of Vendome was in March to besiege that city. 80 Ships with 6,000 men sent from England and Holland to relieve it have all of them been destroyed by a storm. The King of Sweeden with 200,000 Tartars invade Moscovy and Poland. At his approach the Northern & German crowns withdraw their troops from the Netherlands. The Parliament of England consisting of Presbyterians has been dissolved, and another

[1]The Indians of Saint-Louis or Caughnawaga were Mohawks of the Iroquois nation.



COMMUNICATION BETWEEN ALBANY AND OSWEGO

(From the Dewitt Mss. Map's, used in Amer. Army)

N Y G P Putnam & Co

P. 183

Luth. of Sarony & Co. New York

called, whereof all members are Episcopalians. At Brest in Little Britain, there is a great navy preparing for a design that is kept very secret. The gallion of [*illegible*] are come in safe. The people of France are very [*illegible*] their King for the prosecution of the war. The paper money has been taken away and rent assigned for the ready paiement thereof. The Duke of Noailles who has taken Girona is to joyn the Duke of Vendome for the siege at Barcelona with 25,000 men. The English and Hollanders having sent to the Most Christian King sueing for peace his Majesty won't yield to their proposition. A French squadron under the command of Mr DuClerc had landed 800 men at Rio Janeiro in the river of the Amazon and had taken the town. But 15000 Portuguese having faln upon them have made them prisoners of war. The ships are come safe. There is also a flying report that there is in old England a navy of 3,000 men fitting out for an expedition against New France. Our army in Flanders is of 130,000 men under Marshal Villars. Some say the King will be at the head thereof. That of the Allies commanded by the Duke of Marlborough is far inferior. There is no mention of Prince Eugene. We do hourly expect two other French vessels from Rochel. If they bring freshe tidings and I find an opportunity to make them known to you I shall. Write, I pray, to me from Albany and afterwards from New England. I have sent your letters to Kebeck. Do my commendations to my acquaintance at Wells, and at Boston, namely to Mr Hern a Lawyer to Mrs. Rawlings and her father and to Mrs. Mary Pleisted to Catharine Leatherby to Lieutenant Josiah Littlefield to Mr Samuel Emery, to Lieutenant Thomas Baker &c I remain

Sir

Your Most

Humble Servant

Meriel Prieft.

Out of Acadia we have the confirmation of the news we had already had that most of the souldiers of the garrison at Port Royal were dead of the scurvy.

Ville-Marie in the Island of Montreal June 25. 1711"

CORRESPONDENCE CONCERNING ENSIGN DE VERCHÈRES. ["BOVENEY."]

Letter from Governor Dudley of Mass. to Governor Hunter of N. Y.:

"Boston 31 Decem^{r}, 1711.[1]

S^{r}

This last post I troubled you with a letter referring to a Letter J sent to Albany directed to Mr Voderil for the Exchange of prisoners which I have holden with him these nine years past and since I sent Mr Boveney a french ensign who J have had in my hands these two yeares (in exchange for whom mr voderil the last spring sent me Captain Harmon an English officer) with a passport to returne home by way of Albany by whom J further acquainted Mr Voderil that I had in my hands forty french prisoners which J offered him in Exchange for as many of mine Jn his hands both my said Letters & Boveney are stayed by the Gentlemen at Albany for your Excellencys allowance as they write, I pray of you s^{r} that the said french prisoner & the Letters may be allowed to pass that I may have her majestys subjects return & may be quit of the frenchmen in my hands which J judge is for her Majesty's service & very well accepted at all times by her majesty's government, if the sending by Albany be a trouble J will avoyd it for the future he the said Mr Boveney was sent with General Hill into Canada river to be sent home and is now in Albany at his own desire & will find the way home with my letter with a couple of straggling Indians if he may be allowed which is what J Desire of your Excellency if it may consist with your own good opinion

I am ^{sr}

Your Excellency^{s}

most faithful

humble servant

J. D."

[1]Mass. Archives, Vol. 2, p. 462.

W. H. Bartlett.

"To his Ex^cy
Joseph Dudley Esqr Govr
and Capt. Gen^ll of her Maty^s
Province of New Hampshire and Massachusetts.[1]

S^r

I am honor'd with two of yours relateing to the Gentleman[2] upon his returne to Canada. Upon advice from the Commissioners at Albany of that persons being arrivd there I consulted her Majesty's council here, who were of opinion that as matters stood it was neither safe nor expedient to let him proceed at this time, considering our own ill posture and the advices he might give as to the state of the Roads and Lakes by which he was to passe. Upon which I sent to detain him till further orders; the Roads are such at present as he could not possibly wade through So soon as they are more practicable, I fhall Send orders to let him goe and accommodate him with what may be necessary, But I must Intreat you for the future to give me notice of all such as you send that way, there being a strict prohibition on the frontiers of Suffering any to goe that way without leave of ye Government not without Good cause. I Shall In all my best Indeavour to approve mySelf

Your Ex^cys most obedt
Humble Servant
Ro. Hunter.

N. York
ye 15 Jan. 1711-12."

On the above letter of Gov. Hunter is endorsed the following, which is evidently a copy of Dudley's answer:

"Boston, 29th January, 1711.

S:

There are eight years past since J have had Exchanges of prisoners with M^r. Vodruelle which has Occafioned many Letters and Mefsages between M^r. Vaudruelle and mySelf and J have Gen-

[1]Mass. Archives, Vol. 2, p. 463. This letter is endorsed "Gov. Hunter's L^r relating to Boveney 15 Jan. 1711. Read in Council 30 January."

[2]i. e. "Boveney."

erally Sent them by Albany and have had from Canada by Several Ways by Sea and Land some hundreds of prifoners and have Sent more to him and have now Forty that J Keep at great Charge to Exchange for as many and More that are in French hands of Her Majesty's good Subjects. The Letters that Accompany Mr. Boveney the Frenchman are to procure this Exchange at the Earnest Desire of the Assembly & Council of this Province at all times to whom J Communicate always what J write to that Side, and would be Glad J could Communicate with you at all times in this and Everything Else Jmporting Her Majesty's Service. Boveney now at Albany is a poor Country Boy for whome J Recd Captain Harmon a very Good Officer and must Returne again if J cannot Get Boveney home he was in the Fleet going to Canada with the General to have returned that way and being unfortunate there J thought this the best way J could be Glad while he Stays those Letters might go forward otherwise J shall have no Exchange the Spring coming and if Boveney may not go home Soon J must Send Some other way to Acquaint Mr Vaudruelle That I have Captain Harmon and That Boveney Shall come as soon as J can Tho if sould be Stayed till News from Great Britain it will be worse to Send him then, then it is now

I am Sr
Your Excellencys
most ffaithfull Humble
Servant
J Dudley."

Letter to Col. Samuel Partridge of Hatfield, Mass., from Jonas [or Jona] Douw:[1]

"Albany ye 15th Desembr 1712

Sr this gives Occation to me to write to You Since J did Some time ago Give mr Samll Afhley a power of attorney to Receive Such Sumse of money Due to me for Keeping of mr Bouene de Verfhare J find Your promife for the payment when J should Send a power of atterney to Receive the same but J at Constant

[1]Mass. Archives, Vol. 3, p. 130.

Trouble Giveing power to Receive Such Demands as proposed by Your Selfe and as Yet Nothing Comes to Perfection Sr J Earnestly Desire of You to lett me know the Reafon my Moneys is Detained from me and you will Verry much obleadge me

Sr Your Verry humble

Servant

Jona Douw"

Letter from Col. Samuel Partridge to Governor Dudley:[1]

"Hatfield, dec: 31 1712

May it pleafe yor Excellency

I have this day the Return of the poft from Albany who have reacht the Frentch Mefsengers & the Letters J Recd of mr Williams are fent by them for Canada as J suppofe yor Selfe is Enform'd by the Enclofsed from Albany to yor Self & by mr Robt Levinftons Letter here Enclofsed alsoe, Capt. Jonas Dowe follows me with Letters for to be payd for his Keeping Monfr Bovenee de Versher 13 or 14 Months at 21£ 0s 0d or thereabouts he never had any Engagemt from me Jn the day of it J fent the sd de Versher to Col. Shuyler according to directions he sd Dowe infifts on the paymt of the Money or the Reason why it is not done J have Enclofed his Letter & Wee have No Occurent hath happened & are in quiett at pefent J am informed by the poft that an Jndian from Canada sth there is no Motion of Warr goeing forward there with my Humble Service pesented to yor Self Madame Dudley & yor whole family. Rendering my Selfe Much oblidged in Obeydience & am yor verry Humble Servt

Samll Partridge."

P. S. . . . . "

DAGEUILLE, AMBASSADOR FROM CANADA TO ALBANY, MAY, 1711.

In the correspondence between the Governors of Canada

[1]Mass. Archives, Vol. 3, p. 130.

and New England quoted in the story of Eunice Williams, p. 146, *ante*.[1]

De Vaudreuil writes:

"Your Interpreter has ill-explained my Letter . . . . . in that you did not furnish Mr Dagueille with anything . . . . . I complain with reason that in sending me three prisoners by him you obliged him to furnish them out of his own money with provisions and other necessaries for the return of those three men, ... contenting yourself as he and they inform me, with wishing them a good journey."

To this charge Dudley replies:

"I dare appeal to any disinterested and competent judges as to my invariable conduct in regard to supplies and provisions for the French captives returned by Mr Lesguilles [Dagueille]. . . . . It has exceeded and never fallen short of what has been done for my poor people elsewhere."

Letter from General Nicholson and others to M. de Vaudreiul.[2]

"Annapolis Royal, 11. oct. 1710.

Monsieur,

It having pleased God to bless with success, the just and royal enterprise of Her Majesty Anne, ... Queen of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, by reducing to her subjection the Fort of Port-Royal and the country adjacent, ... we think it proper to inform you that, since you have made several attacks upon her Majesty's frontiers, your cruel and barbarous Savages and Frenchmen having inhumanly massacred many poor peo-

[1]Letter from De Vaudreuil to Dudley, Montreal, June 12, 1713. Dudley's reply, Boston, June 27, 1713. Mass. Archives, Vol. 2, pp. 631-636.

[2]Doc. Pub. à Quebec, Vol. II., p. 524.

ple and children, in case the French after your receipt of this letter, shall commit any hostilities and barbarities, immediately upon information of such acts, we will avenge ourselves by similar atrocities upon your people in Acadia. But as we abhor the cruelty of your Savages in war, we hope that you will give us no occasion to imitate them . . . . . you have a great number of prisoners under your jurisdiction, especially a young girl, the daughter of the Rev. Mr. Williams, Minister of Deerfield, we hope that you will have all the Said prisoners ready to be delivered up, at the first flag of truce that we shall send, in the month of May next; otherwise you may expect that an equal number of the inhabitants of this country will be enslaved among our savages uutil there shall be a complete restitution of the subjects of Her Majesty, whether they be in the possession of the French or Indians. . . . . .

[Signed] F. Nicholson,
Sam Vetch,
Charles F. Ebbey,
Robert Reading,
G. Martin,
Thomas Mathew,
William Bidele,
George Gordon."

De Vaudreuil speaks as follows of the above letter, and of his action thereupon in a letter to the French Minister dated 25th April, 1711:[1]

"M. de Subercase having surrendered on the 13th of October, he and Mr Nicholson, General and Commander-in-Chief of the Queen of England's forces on this Continent, have both sent Baron de St Castine and Major Levingston to me through the forest. I annex hereunto, My Lord, the letter Mr Nicholson has written me and my answer to him, which I have sent by Messrs de Rouville and Depuis, being very glad to employ these two officers on this occasion in order to obtain information through them of the movements of

[1]N. Y. Col. Doc., Vol. IX, p. 853, et, seq. See also a *résumé* of this letter, dated 8. novembre 1711 in Doc. Rel., &c., &c., Vol. II., p. 546.

our enemies, and at the Same time to make them acquainted with the Country and the most favorable routes to send parties thither."

On the 15th of June, 1711, Costebello, Commandant at Plaisance, writes that he has "sent the Sieur de la Ronde-Denis to Boston concerning an exchange of prisoners. He will reclaim Père Justinian and bring him back to Plaisance."[1] Father Justinian was a Recollet priest, missionary and *curé* of Port-Royal, who in January, 1710, while celebrating mass, had been captured with five of his flock, carried to Boston and imprisoned there, where one had died. That Father Justinian was not released appears probable from the following:

"At a Council held Munday 2nd of April, 1711.[2]

The Honourable Governour Vetch Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's Fort of Annapolis Royall and the Country of Nova Scotia &ca, representing that Father Justinian a French Priest a lawfull Prisoner of War taken within the Government under his Care was brought hither by his order with design to obtain Mr. Williams' daughter in exchange for him having hitherto been supported at his charge, and that being now about to return to his Government, he shall otherwise dispose of him; unless the Government be willing to take him into their care to be exchanged for Mr. William's daughter or some other valuable Prisoner.

Advised that the said Priest be kept to be exchanged accordingly."

Sieur de la Ronde-Denis came several times to Boston, as ambassador from Bonaventure, Governor of Port-Royal.

"At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston, 22nd of February, 1705. His Excellency [Dudley.] communicated to the Council a Letter from Mr. Bonaventure Commander at Port Royal received by the hand of a French Gentleman whom he sent hither

[1]Doc. Pub. à Quebec, Vol. II, pp. 537–8.

[2]Council Records, 1708-1712, Vol. 5, p. 365.

with Capt. Rouse who arrived two days since and brought seventeen English prisoners, and all appeared at the Board."

"At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston upon Wednesday the 17th of April 1706. His Excellency acquainted the Council that Mr L'Ronde Messenger from Mr Bonaventure Commander at Port-Royal is very desirous to return the time for his stay here being pafs'd and there being several French prisoners to be sent thither and of ours there to be brought from thence.

Ordered, That Mr Commissary General do take up and dispatch a suitable Vessel for the transporting of the s[d] Mr L'Ronde with the French prisoners, and for bringing home ours from thence accordingly.

J. Dudley.

His Excellency communicated the Draft of his letter to Mr. Bonaventure to be sent by Mr. L'Ronde."[1]

The real purpose of De la Ronde's mission appears in the following *résumé* of a letter from Bonaventure to the French Minister, dated Port-Royal, Dec. 24, 1706:

"He had sent the Sieur de la Ronde-Denis to Boston, under pretext of informing himself of what had been done between M. de Vaudreuil, and the governor of Boston about an exchange, in order that he might examine the harbors, ports, and forces of the colony—This he has done so that he (Bonaventure) is in a condition to attack this colony (Boston) if he had a sufficient force."[2]

Concerning this embassy the Minister writes to the Sieur de la Ronde-Denis:

À Versailles 30th June 1707

"I am satisfied with your account of your journey to Baston and to Quebec for the exchange of prisoners, and I am very glad that you have taken cognizance of the ports of the coast from Port-Royal to Baston. . . . . You have only to follow the orders of M. de Subercase, and devote yourself especially to interrupting the commerce of Baston"

[1]Council Records, Vol. 4, pp. 265–266.

[2]Doc. Pub, à Quebec, Vol. II., p. 462.

Writing on the same date to De Subercase, the Minister says:

"I am very glad that the Governor of Baston has sent back the man named Baptiste who has been a prisoner there for four years. You can employ him in teaching navigation to the young men of the country, since they prefer this trade, rather than to work on the land."[1]

An account of an "Enterprize des Bastonnias sur l'Acadie" dated July 6, 1707,[2] mentions Subercase "accompanied by the Sieurs de la Ronde, Faillant, and *Baptiste*, and about 200 men," attempting to defend the mouth of the Gaspereau against the Bastonnais.

Here we have evidence of Baptiste's return to Port-Royal previous to June 30, 1707.

The Sieur de la Ronde came twice, at least, to Boston after this: in June, 1711, when he demanded Father Justinian, and again in October, 1723.

What tales the Council Chamber of the old State House in Boston might tell.

At a meeting of the Council Munday 2nd of April 1711.[3] "His Excellency proposed the sending of the Indian Woman lately taken by the troops under Colonel Walton with a Letter directed to Moxis the Eastern Indian Sagamore importing that if he will procure M[r] Williams daughter from her Indian Master at Canada & send her hither that then this squaw & her son & daughter (who are to be detained as hostages for her return again) shall be sett at liberty & returned home."

The return of Maj. Livingston and his French escort appears as follows in our Archives:[4]

[1]Doc. Pub. à Quebec, Vol. II, pp. 475–6.
[2]Doc. Pub. à Quebec, Vol. II, p. 477.
[3]Council Records, Vol. 5, pp. 350–351.
[4]Council Records, " " "

"At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston upon Saturday the 24th of February, 1710

Present His Excellency Joseph Dudley Esqre Governor

Wait Winthrop
Elisha Hutchinson Esq^res^
Samuel Sewall
Peter Sergeant
John Walley Esq^res^
Wm Hutchinson
Isaac Addington Esqre
Penn Townsend
Andrew Belcher Esqre
Edwd Bromfield

Major Livingston arriving here yesterday from Canada accompanied with some French Gent^n^ who brought Letters from Mr Vaudreuille to his excellency to the Honble Col Vetch &c

His Excellency communicated his letter to the Council it cheifly referring to an exchange of Prisoners as also did Col Vetch his

And his Excellency gave directions in writing to Mr Commissary General and Mr Sheriff Dyer to visit the said French Gent^n^ now at the George Tavern[1] & offer their service to them in settling their quarters where they are & at the houses adjoining and to acquaint them that the sherriffe will attend them to the Town House in Boston on Monday next three o'clock afternoon where the Governor will see them in Council to receive their Credentials and withall to let them understand the Governor has assigned that House where they are for their entertainment and will take care that they be not imposed upon by excessive rates for their expences."

"At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston upon Monday the 26th of February 1710.[2]

Present [as above.]

Pursuant to the intimation given on saturday last to Messrs D'Rouville and Dupuix Messengers from M. Vaudreuille Governor of Canada they were admitted to attend the Governor in Council, and shew^d^ forth their credentials; His Excellency assured them, the ac-

[1]"George Tavern" on the Neck near Roxbury line. Gen. Court sat there in 1721. "George Tavern" same as "Castle Tavern" corner of Dock Square and Elm St.

[2]Council Records, Vol. 5, p. 355.

compt depending betwixt this government and Mr Vaudreuille for money by him advanced to Messrs Appleton & Sheldon in their respective negotiations at Quebeck should be forthwith adjusted and the Ballance paid and that he will confer with them upon the proposal for the exchange of prisoners on both sides, if they can come to a mutual agreement thereabout; so as to dispatch them this week without being detained longer agreeable to Mr Vaudruille's desire in his letter and return before the Ice begone."

Sewall, the omniscient, has the following:

"Feb 26. 1710-11

This day p. m. the Govr has the French Messengers from Canada in Council; Had the Councillors on his Left hand, Col. Vetch and them on his right; on the right also were Mr. Secretary and Mr. Commissary. Read their Credentials by Mr Weaver the Interpreter. Reprimanded one Anthony Oliver[1] for going to them at Meers's[2] and to the Frier without leave; made him take the Oaths, and subscribe to the Declaration.[3] Told the Messengers they should depart that day sennight as had told the Council with some Spirit, last Satterday: at which time Col. Vetch said the people of N. E. were generally given to Lying; to which the Govr said not a word."

"At a Council held at the Council Chamber in Boston upon Saturday ye 3rd March, 1710.[4]

Ordered that Messrs Rouville & Dupuix Commissioners from Mon^s^ D'Vaudruille Governor of Canada to negotiate an exchange of Prisoners on both sides be allowed twenty shillings p^r^ Diem for their Table during their stay in this Government

And that Mr Commissary General make up the account of the charge of the two men and the Horses that attended 'em from Rehoboth to Boston and have been detained to accompany them back as far as New London and pay the men for their service at the rate

[1]Antoine Olivier, Huguenot of Boston.

[2]Samuel Mears kept the Sun Tavern in Corn-Court near Dock Square.

[3]These are the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and the Declaration against Transubstantiation.

[4]Council Records, Vol. 5.

N° ( ) 20s

THIS INDENTED BILL of twenty shillings
Due from the Province of the Massachusets
Bay in New England to the Possessor
thereof shall be in value equal to Money
And shall be accordingly accepted by the
Treasurer and Receivers Subordinate to him
in all publick payments and for any stock
at any time in the Treasury Boston November
the twenty first Anno 1702 By Order of the Great
and General Court or Assembly

Com= tee

A Fac Simile of a Massachusetts Treasury Note. Such currency as issued in 1690. had a Circle which enclosed L.S. *on the left opposite the place for the Committee's names. This circle was substituted on the Bill here presented by a likeness of the Royal Seal. to render the counterfeiting of it more difficult.*

of eighteen pence per man and twelve pence for a horse p^{r} Diem over & above men & horses subsistence until the return back to Rehoboth Articles for the Exchange of prisoners proposed and concerted between His Excellency & the said Messrs Rouville & Dupuix on the part of Governour Vaudruille were read & approved"

"An Accompt presented by Andrew Belcher Esqr Commissary General of twenty-eight pounds sixteen shill^{s} paid to Messrs Rouville and Dupuix Messingers from Mr Vaudruille Governour of Canada being the Ballance of the account of money Mr Vaudriulle supplyed to Messrs Appleton & Shelden in their respective Attendances on him from this Government and for exchange of the money paid them

And the further sum of Sixty two pounds four shillings & two pence paid charges of men & horses & coach hire attending the said Messrs Rouville & Dupuix in their way thither [hither?] and return as far as New London & for their entertainment whilest they remained here, the whole amounting to ninety one pounds and two pence, read accepted and

Advised & Consented That a Warrant be made out thereupon to the Treasurer to reimburse & pay the said Andrew Belcher Esqr the aforesaid sum of ninety one pounds."

The date of the return of the Frenchmen is given us in a letter to the Minister from De Vaudreuil, dated Quebec, 25th of April, 1711. He says "Sieurs de Rouville and Dupuis arrived at Chambly eight or ten days ago. The English had not received any news from Europe up to the 17th of March, the date of their departure from Boston."

They carried a "Roll of English Prisoners in the Hands of the French and Indians at Canada" 1710-11.

A duplicate of this list is in our Archives. It contains the names of 113 New England captives with a few repetitions. Among them are "The Minister's Daughter, Deerfield," Johnson Harmon, Mary Sawyerd, Hester Sawyard, all of York. Mary Silver, Haverhill, Hester Wheelwright, Wells. On the back of the list is the following letter:

"Boston 5th March 1710.[1]

Sir,

This comes to your hand by Messrs D'Rouville & Depuis Messengers from Mr D'Voudruille I have to thank your kind Discreation in sending them the Round Way that they might not know our Albany Road, upon the Same Consideration I have Returned them the same way & am Glad we have had no News from Europe dureing their stay here & hope to have them Dispatch before any. thing Arrive. They have shewed themselves good men here have signed Articles with me for the Rendition of all Prisoners in June next. I pray you to speed them away as soon as possible.

I am Sir your very humble Servt

J. Dudley.

To. Col. Schuyler."

EUNICE WILLIAMS AND HER DESCENDANTS.

From the Records at Caughnawaga.

Since John Schuyler's Memorial, little has been known of Eunice Williams. It is hoped that the following may throw light upon her later history.

Baptismal records at the mission of Sault Saint-Louis, (Caughnawaga) exist from March 1, 1735, to March 10, 1745. From this to March 25, 1753, they are wanting. After that to the present date they are complete.

Marriage records exist from Sept. 30, 1743, to June 24, 1747, and from Jan. 29, 1763, forward to this day.

Records of deaths begin January, 1762.

From this it will be seen that the baptism of Eunice Wil-

[1]Evidently this date should be 1710-11.

liams as Margaret, and her marriage, both previous to Schuyler's visit (about 1713) do not appear on Caughnawaga records, nor does her English name.

Nehemiah Howe in his narrative of his own captivity, says that at Crown Point he saw an "Indian named Amrusus, husband to her who was Eunice Williams."

Mr. Edward W. Williams, Jr., quotes the name Amrusus from Mr. Sheldon, and says that it was "roughly civilized into Toroso." It is with diffidence that I have declined to accept the name Amrusus, and prefer to await further knowledge. Nehemiah How saw and talked with Eunice's husband, but he cannot be taken as authority on either French or Indian proper names. Possibly Amrusus is a corruption of Ambroise, a favorite French name in Canada. Rev. J. G. L. Forbes, a scholarly man, an adept in the Iroquois language, *curé* of Caughnawaga and a diligent student of its records, says that the name Amrusus does not appear there.

"Toroso and Amrusus," writes Mr. Forbes, "are certainly corrupt names. They are not Iroquois at all. They remind one of "Arosen" and "Tekentarosen," which are Iroquois, and proper names for men." The records of Caughnawaga have been carefully studied in the hope of finding a name suggestive of Amrusus or Toroso. Arosen and Tekentarosen occur as masculine names, but nowhere in connection with Eunice Williams or her children. The impartial research and patient labor of Mr. Forbes, with his knowledge of the Iroquois language has furnished me with authenticated extracts from the registers, otherwise impossible to me. From these, and what I have been able to supply from the New England end of the story of Eunice, I am able to collate what follows:

On Caughnawaga records a certain Marguerite with an Indian name of four variations, was four times godmother.

On one of these occasions, she was godmother to the child of an Indian named Karenhisen.

A Catharine was also godmother to one of Karenhisen's children. It is now and always has been a custom of the Caughnawaga Indians for kinswomen of the father to stand for his children. Therefore, Mr. Forbes concludes that Marguerite and Catharine were kinswomen of Karenhisen, and probably related to each other.

We know that Eunice (Marguerite) had a daughter Catharine. Why may we not assume that this Marguerite was Eunice, and this Catharine her daughter? Admitting this, we get here Eunice's Indian name, given in these four baptismal records with four variations, viz.: Marguerite 8aon'got, Marguerite Gon'aongote, Marguerite 8aongote and Marguerite Aongote.

"This name," says Mr. Forbes, "may be translated 'They took her and placed her as a member of their tribe.'" It thus appears, that whoever this godmother was, she did not belong by birth to the tribe: "they took her and placed her as a member of their tribe." If this be Eunice Williams, as I believe, what more touching and appropriate name could have been given her?

The order and the dates of the births of Eunice's children are unknown. Rev. James Dean, missionary to the Indians at Caughnawaga and Saint-Francis in 1773 and 1774, knew Eunice well. He wrote to her brother Stephen Nov. 12, 1774.[1] "She has two daughters & one grandson which are all the Descendants she has."

John, son of Eunice, died childless at Lake George, in 1758[2]. Catharine, daughter of Eunice, [see *ante*] appears on Caughnawaga records as Catharine Asonnontie and Catharine Kassinontie. (Flying leg.)

[1]Sheldon's Hist. of Deerfield, Vol. 1, p. 351.

[2]William Ward Wight's "Eleazer Williams."

There is no record of her marriage. Her husband was François Xavier Onasategen. They had no children, but adopted two. Onasategen died in 1805. Catharine (Flying leg) his wife, in 1807.

"Le douze septembre mil huit cent sept par moi prêtre soussigné a été inhumée dans le cimitière de cette mission Catherine Kasinontie, sauvagesse de ce village, décédée l'avant veille, agée d'environ quatre vingts ans, veuve de François-Xavier Onasategen. Présents Charles Sa8enno8ane et Simon Tagaratensera, qui n'ont su signer.

(Signed) A: Van Felson ptre."

"Le vingt six Juin mil huit cent cinq par moi prêtre soussigné, a été inhumé dans l'Eglise de cette Mission, François Xavier Onasategen, Grand Chef de ce Village, décédé la veille, agé de près de Quatre vingts ans, epoux de Catherine Gassinontie. présents Messieurs Jean Baptiste Bruguier, Curé de Chateaugai, Pierre Consigny de la Chine, et autres, soussignés

(Signed) A: 8anFelson ptre

Bruguier ptre

Pierre Consigny ptre

Ch^{s} De Lorimier Le clerc miss."

It is through Onasategen, Catharine's husband, that we recognize the following as the record of Eunice's (Marguerite's) burial:

"1785. Le vingt six novembre j ai inhumé Marguerite belle-mère dannasategen elle était ageé de quatre vingt quinze ans.

(Signed) L. Ducharme. miss:"

Translation. "On the twenty-sixth of Novembre, 1785, I have buried Marguerite, mother-in-law of Onasategen. She was ninety-five years old."

Signed, L. Ducharme, Mission priest."

So after all the vicissitudes of her life, it is only as the mother-in-law of the "Grand Chef Onasategen," that Eunice Williams's death is noticed. Doubtless these vicissitudes had made her look older than she was. She was born in

September, 1696, and would therefore have been eighty-nine at her death.

We have seen that two out of Eunice's three children died without issue. Mary is the only child of Eunice through whom we can trace the descent. The name of her husband, the father of her children, has hitherto eluded search. Mr. Wight quoting Eleazer's statement on this point, leaves it without a shadow of credibility and says, "The fact is that the husband of Sarah, [meaning Mary] was an Indian of unknown, mayhap of unpossessed name."

The following extracts from the records at Caughnawaga, establish the fact that Eunice's daughters were Catharine, who died without children, and Mary, [not Sarah] who became the mother of Thomas.

Mary appears on the records of Caughnawaga as Marie Skentsiese. (New fish.)

There is no record of her marriage. Her husband's name heretofore unknown, was Louis Satagaienton. (Equally sown.) The only child of this marriage was Thomas, baptized as follows:

"1759 Die 6. jan: ego idem [J. B. Denonville S. J.] Baptizavi cum ecclesiae ceremoniis puerum recens natum ex patre Ludovico Sateguienton et matre Maria Skentsiese conjugibus quem Thomam nominavit Thomas Taronhiagannere."

Translation. "On the sixth day of January, 1759, I, the same [the priest here refers to his own name J. B. Denonville of the Society of Jesus,] have baptized with the rites of the church, a newborn boy, the father Louis Sataguienton, the mother Marie Skentsiese, husband and wife, whom Thomas Taronhiagannere[1] named Thomas."

Thomas Thorakwanneken or Tehorakwanneken, (Two suns together,) of whose Indian name there are several vari-

[1]The godfather.

ations, was the only child of Louis Sataguienton and Marie Skentsiese. His mother's death is thus recorded :

"Mai le 14. 1779 a été enterrée Marie femme de Satagaienton, agée d'environ 40 ans. G. S. [grand service] sur le corps.

Jo^{s} Huguet ptre. S. J."

Out of respect to his wife's ancestry, Louis Sataguienton had taken the name of Williams. He married a second time, Jan. 29, 1780,[1] still keeping the name of Williams, which his children by his second wife also assumed.

His first child by his second wife was born Oct. 27, 1780.[1] Louis Satagaienton died in 1803. His widow died in 1812.[1] Thomas Tehorakwenneken, the only child of Louis Satagaienton by his first wife, Marie Skentsiese, the daughter of Eunice Williams, married in 1779.[1]

"Janvier le 7, 1779 Thomas teHorak8annegen a épousé Marie Anne, fille de Haronkio8annen.[1]

"7. 7bre 1780 idem [i. e. Jo^{s} Huguet priest S. J.] supplevi ceremonias baptismi in puerum pridie natum ex patre Thoma teHorakwannegen et ex matre Maria Anna Gonate8enteton, conjugibus, quem Joannem Baptistam nominavit Catharina honnasategen conjux."[2]

Translation. "On the seventh of September, 1780, I, Jo^{s} Huguet priest S. J. have administered the rite of baptism to a boy born the day before, son of Thomas Tehorakwannegen and Mary Anne Gonate8enteton, husband and wife, whom Catharine the wife of Onosategen, has named Jean Baptiste."

The above is interesting because the godmother was Thomas's aunt Catharine, daughter of Eunice, and granddaughter of Rev. John Williams,—who gave to the baby the name of John.

Catharine was godmother also to Thomas's second child,

[1]Caughnawaga Records.

[2]Mr. Wight says that she was descended from a Marlboro captive named Rice.

a girl whom she named for herself.[1] Catharine's adopted daughter Louise was godmother to Thomas's third child, whom she named Louise.[1] Catharine, daughter of Eunice and wife of Onosategen, died in 1807.[1]

The records at Caughnawaga give the births of eleven children to Thomas. We have plenty of evidence that Eleazer also was his son. There are now in Caughnawaga several grandchildren and great-grandchildren of Thomas Tehorak8anneken.

CHILDREN OF REV. JOHN AND EUNICE MATHER WILLIAMS.

Rev. John Williams married successively two cousins, granddaughters of Rev. John Warham of Windsor, Conn. His first wife and all their children except Eleazer, the eldest, who was away at school, and two who died previously, were either killed or captured, Feb. 29, 1703-4.

Eleazer became the minister of Mansfield, Conn.

Samuel died unmarried in 1713.

Esther married Rev. Joseph Meacham of Coventry, Conn.

Stephen became the minister of Longmeadow, Mass.

Eunice remained in Canada.

Warham became the minister of Watertown, West Precinct, now Waltham, Mass.

Rev. Stephen Williams of Longmeadow, kept a diary for many years. It consists of eleven Mss. volumes, very closely written scarcely punctuated and with many abbreviations peculiar to himself. One volume was burned in the fire which destroyed the old parsonage in 1846. The part cover-

[1]Caughnawaga Records.

W. H. Bartlett.

J. C. Armytage.

Indian Scene on the St. Lawrence

ing the period between 1738 and 1742 inclusive, consists of 591 pages. The narrative of his captivity, carefully edited by Mr. Sheldon, has been published by the P. V. M. Association of Deerfield. Through the generous courtesy of the custodians of the diary, that part which relates to the first two visits of Eunice Williams to New England are here published for the first time. The name of her husband has not yet been found in this diary, though careful search has been made for it.

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF REV. STEPHEN WILLIAMS OF LONGMEADOW.

"1740. Aug. 9. Saturday this day I have a letter [from] Albany informing me y^t^ my sister Eunice is expected at Albany next week & I am desired to go thither.

Monday

11 I have wrote to my br at M Giueing him an acct of wh^t^ I have heard o [from] Albany & wait this day to see whether he'll come & oh yt God w^d^ direct & help us all in this weighty affair

12 This day I set out to Albany accompanie^d^ by my br w of m & my brother Meacham we had a comfortable journey and got to Albany on ye 15th ye particulars of w'h I met with till y^e^

27 [I have wr^te^ in my travailing journal w'h I propose to keep] when we had (ye joyfull Sorrowful meeting of o^r^ poor Sister y^t^ we had been separated [from] for above 36 years) Ye next day [28th] we got her and her Husband' promise to go with us to my house & tarry wth us 4 days. we prepar'd for our journey & set out from Albany Aug 29, & thro ye Good hand of God upon us Got safely to my house on ye 2nd Tuesday of Sep^t^: at n't [night] & (ye whole place Seemed to be greatly moved at our coming) Yt Evening Capt K (Kellogue)[1] came to us

[1]Joseph Kellogg, a Deerfield captive, returned and served as Interpreter in New England.

Sept. 3. Wed this m [morning] my Brother E. W. & Br m[1] went home Capt. Kellogue' sister came to us and y[e] neighbours came in & shew[d] Great kindness & Mr Edwards of N. H. came to visitt us[2]

Thurs
4 This m [morning] we gain'd a promise o [from] my Sister & Husband to tarry with us untill Monday night Capt K left us but his sister tarry[d] B[r] Elijah W'[ms][3] & Aunt W'[ms] of Hatf[d] and Sister Meacham come to us.

Friday
5 Clutter[d] & full of care & company joy & sorrow hope & fear. This day came Hither cosen Jn[a]th[n] Hunt[4] Mr Estabrook an two of Brother W[ms] daugters.[5]

Sat
6 This day Aunt Hawley came hither & went along Colen[ll] Stoddard,[6] Cozen J. S. Hunt & Sister Hinsdell.[7] Uncle Park W[ms][8] and his xdren came hither & I sent to Capt. Kellogue[9] neighbors & friends show great kindness affection & respect

7 Sabbath my poor sister Attend[d] y[e] publick worship with us both parts of ye day oh yt this might be as a pledge y[t] she

[1]Eleazer Williams and Joseph Meacham.

[2]Rev. Jonathan Edwards, the great revivalist, then minister at Northampton, Mass.

[3]Half brother to Rev. Stephen Williams.

[4]Jonathan Hunt of Deerfield, Northfield and Northampton married Martha, daughter of Samuel Williams of Pomfret, Conn. He was grandfather of Lieut. Gov. Jonathan Hunt of Vernon, Vt., and great-great-grandfather of the late William Morris Hunt, artist, and Richard M. Hunt, architect.

[5]Rev. Hobart Estabrook married one of the daughters of Rev. Eleazer Williams of Mansfield, Conn.

[6]Colonel John Stoddard of Northampton, son of Rev. Solomon Stoddard.

[7]Abigail, half-sister of Rev. Stephen Williams, married (1.) Col. and Rev. Ebenezer Hinsdell, founder of Hinsdale, N. H.

[8]Son of Samuel and brother to Rev. John Williams, lived in Lebanon, Conn.

[9]Joseph Kellogg, Interpreter.

may return to the house & ordinances of God o [from] wch she has been so long separated In ye Evening we (Col. S. assisting † directing) had a Set discourse with my Sister † her husband and thô we could not obtain of y^m to tarry wth us yet [they][1] have promis'd us y^t now the way is open [they] will certainly come & make a visit & spend a winter in ye country among y^r Friends [they] seem in earnest & say [they] wont be divert'^d unless it be something very extraordinary

Sept 8 Monday Uncle & Aunt Edwards[2] Br W & Br m & many friends & neighbors come to visit us o^r neighbors sent in plentifully to us and come & assist us so y^t we had Even a Feast. o^r Sister & Family Din'^d in ye room wth ye Company Sister M[3] & I sat at ye table wth y^m At evening o^r young people sang melodiously y^t was very Gratefull to my Sister and company & I hope we are something endeared to her. She says twill hurt her to part wth us.

tuesday
9 my Sister & company left my house I accompany^d y^m beyond Westfield about a mile & when I took leave of her (I do think her affections were mov^d) she repeated her promise of coming & spending a long time wth us if God spared y^r lives

19 This day my son John return^d from Allbany & gives acc't he got on safely with his company he tells me y^t his Aunt & Husband were well pleas'^d with their visitt and went away cheerfull"

"1741 July 26. Sunday I preach'^d at Suffield in ye evening came a messenger to me [from] Westfield bringing me an acc^t my Sister was come to Westf^d [from] Canada

[1]The characters used by Mr. Williams for the names of his sister and her husband, for the words "from," "they" and others cannot be reproduced in type.

[2]Parents of the renowned Jonathan Edwards.

[3]Esther Williams Meacham.

upon it I went to Capt Kellogue and got his son to go on to Westfield & I myself lodg^{d} at ye captains

Monday
27 I return^{d} home & Find my Sister & her Husband & two xdren here I am glad to see them & pray God to bless them . . . . . I am in concern lest they take ye infection of ye measells.

Tuesday
28 my Sister & Family seem Easy & I rejoice at it . . . . . my brother w' ham & his son went over to Capt Kellogue who has sent me an acct what their sentiments are I hope [they] may be prevail^{d} with to come & tarry in ye country

Wed
29 my sister & company are gone to Coventry ye L^{d} be pleas'^{d} to go wth y^{m}[1]

Friday
31 my xdren came home from M & C[2] having been wth their Aunt [Eunice] whom the^{y} left at m I praise God for his smiles respecting this journey

Aug 1 . . . . .
" 2 Ye Sabbath
" 4[3]
13 Last n^{t} Br W W[4] & cosen W came hither to see Sister E. I am glad to see them ye B W[5] preached a very agreeable Sermon to us[6]

[1]They were probably driven away by an epidemic of measles and a "throat distemper," then prevalent in Longmeadow.

[2]Mansfield and Coventry.

[3]This was Tuesday. Eunice and her family were with her brother Eleazer at Mansfield. The day was set apart for Prayer for the Revival of Religion. On behalf of Eunice, a sermon was preached there by her cousin, the Rev. Solomon Williams of Lebanon, Conn.

[4]Warham Williams.

[5]Brother Warham.

[6]This was the usual Thursday lecture. Eunice being at Coventry lost it. They followed her to Coventry the next day.

14 This day they set away to Coventry . . . . . Br H & El came hither & lodged here

15 they went away to Coventry ye Ld be pleas'd to Grant yt the meeting of so many Friends may be for ye benefit of ymselves & of or Sister my wife is poorly of it

16 ye Sabbath

17 This day my Brethren and Sisters come here [from] Below the Ld Grant or being together may be comfortable & beneficiall

Tuesday

18 My Br of m. preached a sermon

Sept 3 This day I went to Westfld to meet my Sister and Family who are upon yr Return to Canada[2] tis pleasant to See her but Grievous to part with her ye Ld mercifully overrule yt she may yet Return & dwell wth us Oh God thou hast ye hearts of all in thine hand & canst turn ym as pleaseth thee &c the Ld go wth ym & preserve ym & be pleas'd to be wth & preserve my Son John who is gone wth them to Albany.

Sat

Sept 5 Oh God bless my poor Sister Eunice & graciously bring her & hers home to thy Self & preserve her on her journey & cause that she may long to return to us again

15 this day John return'd home in safety [from] Albany having had a difficult journey."

The volume of the Diary from October, 1742, to March, 1748, is missing, having been burned with the parsonage in 1846. We have, therefore, no details of the visit said to have been made by Eunice in October, 1743. She arrived again in Longmeadow on June 30, 1761, accompanied by more of

[1]Hinsdell and Elijah Williams.

[2]Owing to the epidemic Eunice had not returned to Longmeadow. She spent but two days there. The rest of her visit was at Coventry and Mansfield.

her family and Canadian friends. They encamped in the orchard behind the parsonage.

1761 June 30 This day my Sister Eunice, her Husband her daughter Katharine and others come hither from Canada. Y^e^ L^d^ grant it may be in mercy to her y^t^ she makes this visitt We have no interpreter and So can't say what her intentions and pretensions are.

July 1 I have been seeking for an interpreter—have sent to Deerfield. Thus I am in concern Y^e^ L^d^ be pleased to direct and bless me—Grant I may take prudent measures

2 We attended ye meeting before ye Sacrament and after meeting people came in Great numbers to see my Sister I am fearful that it may not be agreeable to be gazed upon I am sending hither and thither to my children & friends, & I pray God to bring them together that we may have a comfortable & profitable meeting. My cares increase I have an Interpreter come from Sunderland—sent by Sister Williams of Deerfield[1]—but I fear he does not understand ye Language very well—but I hope will be somewhat serviceable

4 Sabbath & Sacrament My Daughters Eunice & Martha are now here with me upon ye joyfull sorrowfull occasion of my poor Sister Eunice who is now with me —also her Husband, Katharine and her Husband[2] and a little son of Mary[3] I beg God to Direct me what to do for my Sister, be pleased to incline & dispose her and her Husband to come into or comply with such measures as may have a proper tendency to promote her Spiritual & Eternal Good, & that of her family & Offspring. . . . . .

[1]His step-sister Abigail, wife of Rev. and Col. Ebenezer Hinsdell.

[2]François-Xavier Onosategen, "Grand Chef" of Caughnawaga.

[3]This was Mary's only child, Thomas Tehorak8annegen, then two years old. He became the father of Eleazer, the so-called Dauphin.

6 My children John and his wife, Stephen with our Interpreter Mr Dodge are come hither Our Company & Cares increase . . . . . I had a sad Discourse with my Sister & her Husband and find they are not at all dispos'd to come & settle in ye Country I am at a great loss to know what course to take what measures to go into . . . . .

9 Hot, and we are fatigued & full of Company—at night my wife poorly

10 This morning my poor sister and company left us I think I have used ye best arguments I could to persuade her to tarry and to come and dwell with us but at present they have been ineffectual I must leave ye matter wth God—this I desire to do. N. B. Yt when I took leave of my Sister and her daughter in the parlour they both shed tears and seemed affected Oh that God wd touch their hearts and encline them to turn to their Friends, and to embrace ye religion of Jesus Christ."[1]

In Stephen Williams's Diary, there is no record of any visit of Eunice to Deerfield. She came and went by way of Westfield, escorted back and forth from Albany, except on her last visit, by Stephen's son John. Her father died in Deerfield a year before her first visit to New England, and the surviving members of her family lived elsewhere. There was nothing to take her to Deerfield, except a natural desire to see the place of her birth. That she never forgot it is proved by the following:

PREFATORY REMARKS TO A SERMON PREACHED BY REV. JOHN ~~TAYLOR~~ AT THE FIRST CHURCH IN DEERFIELD, AUG. 27, 1837, ON THE OCCASION OF A VISIT TO THAT TOWN BY THE CANADIAN DESCENDANTS OF EUNICE WILLIAMS.

"On the 22nd of last month, our village was visited by two or

[1] There seems to have been more constraint between Eunice and her N. E. relatives on this visit than on those preceding. Doubtless the presence of Katharine's husband, Onosategen, the great Chief, was a restraining influence.

three families of Indians amounting in all to twenty-three of various ages calling themselves by the name of Williams on the ground of being descendants of Eunice The eldest of the party, a woman stating her age to be eighty years claimed to be the grand-daughter of Eunice adding that She perfectly remembered her grandmother. . . . . During their short stay, a little more than a week, they encamped in the vicinity of the village, employing their time not otherwise occupied, in making baskets. They visited the graves of their ancestors, Rev. Mr Williams and wife, and attended divine service on Sunday in an orderly and reverent manner. They refused to receive company on the Sabbath, and at all times, and in all respects seemed disposed to conduct themselves decently and inoffensively During their Stay with us, ... their encampment was frequented by great numbers of persons, almost denying them time to take their ordinary meals, but affording them as if to make amends for such inconvenience and privation, a ready sale for their fabrics.[1] On the first of September they decamped and commenced their homeward progress towards Canada."

The visit of these Indians to Deerfield, seems to corroborate the Longmeadow evidence of Eunice's love for New England. The possibility that the old squaw was a granddaughter of Eunice is refuted, however, by what we now know of her posterity, Thomas Tehorakwaneken being her *only* grandchild. This old woman may have been one of Catharine's adopted daughters,—or one of the children of Louis Satagaienton, the husband of Eunice's daughter Mary, —by his second marriage.

D.

ENSIGN JOHN SHELDON.

On his return from captivity, Rev. John Williams did not

[1]Several of these baskets are still extant in Deerfield.

go back immediately to Deerfield, being naturally doubtful whether to settle there again. By the advice of the Elders in Boston, he yielded at last to Mr. Sheldon's entreaties in behalf of the Deerfield people and decided to cast in his lot with them. While in Boston he was the recipient of much kind attention.

His eldest son Eleazer, being away at school, had escaped the calamity at Deerfield and "by the help of divers charitable people especially in Boston," entered Harvard College in 1705, and was a Freshman there at the time of his father's return; and "living in the chamber over me," says Thomas Prince, then a Sophomore, "I fell into an intimate acquaintance with him." Just a week after his arrival,[1] Mr. Williams delivered the Thursday lecture in Boston, and the two lads walked in from Cambridge together by way of Brighton, seven miles, if we may credit the ancient milestone still standing in Cambridge, to hear the lecture: "I, with many others went down," says Prince, "and in an auditory exceedingly crowded and affected, I heard the sermon."

On the 7th Samuel Sewall "invited the Governor to dine at Holmes's";[2] Mr. Williams and Mr. Sheldon were among the guests. Mr. Williams's sermon and the Deerfield captivities made a profound impression on Thomas Prince. In 1757 he writes:

"From the instance of this one town only, we may learn what number of the present people in Canada are the children of this province, or descended from them—which in case the sovereign GOD should ever lead a victorious army of ours into Canada, will clearly justify us to the world, if we should bring every child and descendant of New England, yea, of all the British Colonies, away."

[1]Prince says he arrived Dec. 6. Sewall says Dec. 5.

[2]Sewall's Diary. Vol. II. p. 173. In connection with this dinner party, the following from Sewall's Diary, Vol. II, p. 165, is interesting: "Friday, Aug. 16, 1706. . . . . , " the Govr and Council sent for me, I went though I had a cold; spake that a suit of cloaths might be made here for Mr. Williams.

E.

MY HUNT FOR THE CAPTIVES.

Among other very rare books in the library of the "Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association," at Deerfield, (a monument to the devotion and labor of the Hon. George Sheldon,) is one entitled in part, "Good Fetched out of Evil, in three Short Essays."

No perfect copy of this book is known; that at Deerfield is perhaps the most perfect. With other treasures, it contains the following poem written by Mary French, daughter of Dea. Thomas French:

"The Singular Circumstances of the little *Authoress*, will make Atonement for it, if we now add a Poem, Written by a Captive Damsel, about Sixteen or Seventeen years of Age; who being afraid that her Younger Sister, at a Distance from her would be led away by the Popish Delusions, addressed her in these Lines:"

Dear Sister, JESUS does you call
To Walk on in His Ways.
I pray, make no Delay at all,
Now in your Youthful Dayes.

O Turn to Him, who has you made,
While in your Tender years:
For as the Withering Grass we fade,
which never more appears.

But if that God should you afford
a longer Life to Live,
Remember that unto the Lord
the Praises you do give.

We still are called to Begin
while we are in our *Youth*.
For to depart from ways of Sin,
and Serve the Lord in Truth.

Tis not *To Morrow*, Christ doth Say
that we shall Mercy find;
Oh, then while it is call'd, To Day,
your Great Creator Mind.

We are not certain in this World
We have an Hour to Spend;
But suddenly we may be hurl'd
where time shall have an End.

How soon may this sad News be told,
we no Assurance have;
In Winding Sheets our Corpse be roll'd
and we laid in the Grave.

But still our Souls must Live for aye
in Endless Bliss or Wo,
If Unprepared at the Day,
we down to Hell do go.

The Officer, as Christ hath said,
Shall us in Prison bind,
Until the last Farthing be paid,
we there must be Confin'd.

Since we so oft of this do hear,
Our Teachers have us told,
We shall without excuse appear,
If we to Sin are bold.

To dare the pow'r of Hell and Death!
yea, and of God most High!
Oh! Let us, while we have our Breath
Prostrate before Him ly.

And let us Wisdom now desire
before our glass is run;
For Understanding Let's Enquire
while Shining is our Sun.

All Wisdoms ways are Pleasantness.
and all its Pathes are Peace.
Those that Gods Throne aright address,
their Joy shall never Cease.

Set not your Heart on fading Toyes,
but still Gods Grace implore;
At His Right Hand are Endless Joyes
and Pleasures ever more.

That Earthly Things are fading flow'rs
We by Experience see;
And of our Years and Days and Hours
we as uncertain be.

Of all Degrees, and Every Age,
among the Dead we find;
Many there fell by bloody rage,
When we were left behind.

Let us be Silent then this day
under our Smarting Rod.
Let us with Patience Meekly say,
It is the Will of God.

Of Friends and Parents, wee're bereav'd,
Distress't, and Left alone;
Lord, We thy Spirit oft have griev'd;
And now as Doves we moan.

For any Worthiness of ours
No mercy ask we can;
But still God hath laid Helps and Pow'rs
upon the Son of Man.

Now when the *Sabbath* doth begin
with sorrow we do say,
Oh! That we were God's House within,
To Keep His Holy Day!

For God hath in His Anger hot
Out of His Sanctuary
Us banished far, that we hear not
its Pleasant Melody.

The Temple Songs from us are gone,
to Sighs they turned be;
Ensnar'd we are, and there is none
on Earth to set us free.

It is the mighty Hand of God
from which no man can fly.
Wee're under both His grevious Rod
and His all-seeing Eye.

Dear Sister, for your sake now I
these Verses Written have.
Bear them upon your Memory,
as going to the Grave.

Dear Sister, Bear me in your Mind;
Learn these few Lines by heart;
Alas, an aking Heart I find,
Since we're so long to part.

But to the Care of God on high
Our cause we will commend,
For your Soul-sake these Lines now I
Your Loving Sister send.

MARY FRENCH.

December 23, 1703. [5 ?]

F.

THANKFUL STEBBINS.

This copy of the baptismal record of Thankful Stebbins is given as a good example of the old-time records in Canadian parishes:

"*Ce* 23 *dauvrile de lannee* 1707 *ie certifie f pierre dublaron faisans les fonctions dedans la paroiffe de chambly avoire fupplees aux ceremonie du facremens de baptefme a louife thereffe ftebene angloiffe de nation et baptisée en angleterre. fon parrain et fa marine ont efté mre hertelle de chambly et mâde de perygny commandante du fort de chambly en foy de quoy jay figner.*"

ERRATA.

In footnote, page 133, for "fourth" read fifth.
Page 393, for "a year before," read eleven years before.
Page 393, for "Taylor," read Fessenden.

INDEX.

INDEX

TO

NAMES OF CAPTIVES.

Adams, James, 47-9, 178 9, 187.
Allen, Edward, 270.
Arms, John, 241, 317, 325, 358-64.
Austin, Mary, 51.

Baker, Christine, (see Otis).
Thomas, 25-9, 32-4, 148, 152, 180, 240, 244, 367.
Bartlett, Joseph, 203, 322-5.
Bécraft, Marie Elizabeth, (see Hurst).
Belding, Hepzibah, (see Wells).
Bradley, Wife of Joseph, 47, 185.
Brooks, { Mary, Marie Claire, } 190, 205.
Nathaniel, 270.

Carter, John, 150.
Casse, (see Corse).
Catlin, Mary, (Baldwin), 195, 277, 282, 318.
Mary, (see French).
Chapin, Hannah, (see Sheldon).
Chub, Jabez, 342.
Clesson, Joseph, 241, 317.
Corse, Elizabeth, 204-6, 209, 262.

Daveluy, Marie Françoise, (see French).
Davids, Saras, 342.
Davis, Mary Anne, 57.
De l'Estage, Marie, Joseph, (see Sayward).
Denio, James, (see De Noyon, Jacques).
Denkyn, Catharine, 207.
De Noyon, Jacques, 206-8, 211, 213, 215-21, 259-60, 263, 276, 281.
Dickinson, Obadiah, 124.
Dumontel, Elizabeth, (see Corse).

Eastman, Amos, 340.

Farnsworth, { Matthew, Mathias Claude, } 47, 262.
Fletcher, Pendleton, 49.
Foote, Mary, 123, 125.
Fortner, Joseph, 341.
Fourneau, Marie Elizabeth, (see Price).
Freeman, Samuel, 341.

French, Abigail, 131, 203, 279, 283, 299.
{ Freedom, / Marie Françoise, } 202-6, 262, 283.
John, 203, 279-80, 282.
{ Martha, / Marthe Marguerite, } 131, 203-6, 283-4, 290.
Mary, (Catlin), 203, 277, 279-82.
Mary, 203, 283, 396, 398.
Thomas, (Deacon), 131, 203, 275, 277-84, 299, 302.
Thomas, Jr., 203, 242, 283.

Gerrish, Sarah, 19.
Gillette, (see Step-children of Stephen Jennings).
Gilman, Jacob, 203.
Gradey, Berney, 341.
Grizalem, (see Warren).

Hancock, Oner, 340.
Harmon, Johnson, 140, 359-60, 364-6, 368, 370, 379.
Hatfield, Captives, 110, 117, 120, 122, 124-6, 232.
Hill, Abiah, 49.
Ebenezer, 48-9.
Brother Joseph's daughter, 49.
Samuel, 48-9, 178-80, 183.
Hinkley, Edouard, 340.
Hinsdale, Mehuman, 235-6, 241, 275.
Hoit, (see Hoyt).
Homes, Anna, 343.
Hoyt, David, (Deacon and Lieutenant), 274, 277, 281, 283.
Jonathan, 184, 307.
Sarah, 152-3, 236.
Huggins, Margaret, 195, 199, 200.
Hull, Elizabeth, 235.
Hurst, { Ebenezer, / Antoine Nicolas, } 202-3.
{ Elizabeth, / Marie Elizabeth, } 201-3, 250.
{ Hannah, / Kaiennoni, } 201-3, 244, 251, 255.
{ Sarah (Jeffries) / Marie Jeanne } 201-3, 250-1.
Sarah, 201-3, 251.
Thomas, 201-3, 244, 251, 262.

Ingersol, Esther, (see Jones).

Jeffries, Sarah, (see Hurst).
Jenkins, Phillipps, 342.
Jennings, Captivity, 126.
Wife of Stephen, 121, 123, 266.
(Gillette) Step-children of Stephen, 121.
Jeryan, Dorothée, (see Jordan).
Jones, Esther, 195, 199-201.
Jordan, Dorothée, 57.

Kellogg, Joseph, 387-8, 390.
Martin, 25, 148, 152, 180, 240-1, 244, 274.

Le Beau, Christine, (see Otis).
Littlefield, { Aaron, / Pierre Augustin, } 262.
Josiah, 51, 367.
Lumbart, Samuel, 340.

Mackerty, Thimoty, 341.
Maddox, Daniel Joseph, 202-3, 339, 342.
Marie des Anges, (see Mary Sayward).
Marten, John, 343.
Ménard, Marthe Marguerite, (see French).
Mitchell, Salomon, 341.
———, 347-8, 351-3.
Monet, Elizabeth, (see Corse).

Neal, Thomas, 342.
Nims, { Abigail, Marie Elizabeth, } 85, 235-41, 243-9, 253, 255.
Ebenezer, 153, 235, 243.
Ebenezer, Jr., 152-3.
Wife of Godfrey, 235.
John, 133, 148, 180, 234-5, 240-3.
Sarah, (see Hoyt).
Noble, Abigail, 341, 343-4.
Benjamin, 344.
Elinor, 355.
Frances, 344.
John, 343.
Joseph, 344.
Lazarus, 342.
Marie, 343.
Matthew, 344.
Children, 347, 351-3.

Otis, { Margaret, Christine, } 19, 23-34, 132, 152-3, 207, 262, 333-5.
{ Grizel, Marie Madeleine, } (see Warren).

Parsons, Hannah, 207.
Petty, Joseph, 148, 180, 240.
Plaisted, Mary, 77-82, 367.
Plimpton, Sergeant John, 104, 108-9, 113, 118, 124-5.
Price, { Elizabeth, Marie Elizabeth, } 206-7, 262, 276, 281.

Quaenbouts, Rachel, } 341.
Quackinbush, }

Raizenne, Ignace, (see Rising).
Rishworth, Mary, (see Plaisted).
Susannah, 77.
Rising, { Josiah, Ignace, } 226-7, 235-41, 243-4, 246-9, 253, 255-6.
Robitaille, Marie Madeleine, (see Warren).
Roi, Marthe Marguerite, (see French).
Ross, John, 343.
William, 343.
Russell, Samuel, 110, 119, 123, 125.

Sayer, (see Sayward).
Sayward, { Esther, Marie, Joseph, } 24, 77, 79-82, 84-7, 207, 379.
{ Mary, Marie Geneviève, Marie des Anges, } 49, 77, 79-85, 87, 237, 239-40, 244, 246, 253, 379.
Schinner, Elizabeth, 341.
Searle, { Elisha, Michel, } 195, 199, 200.
Sheldon, Ebenezer, 168, 188, 240.

Sheldon, Hannah, (Chapin), 48-9, 168, 178, 180-1, 206, 276, 281.
Mary, 48, 168, 178, 187.
Remembrance, 48, 168, 178, 188, 240.
Silver, { Mary, Adelaide, } 321, 323, 325-9, 379.
Stannard, Thomas, 340
Starkes, Jean, 341.
Staats, Barent, 358.
Stebbins, { Abigail, Gabrielle, Marguerite, } 53, 206-8, 211, 217-21, 259-60, 262, 267, 270, 276, 281.
Benoni, 109, 114-17, 161-2, 167, 229-33, 235, 274-5, 278-9, 281, 283.
Dorothy, (Alexander), 207-8, 219, 259, 263, 274.
{ Ebenezer, Jacques Charles, } 207, 219-20, 260.
John, 207-8, 219-20, 259, 263, 274.
John, Jr., 207, 219-21.
Joseph, 207, 220-1, 268.
Samuel, 207, 220-1, 260.
{ Thankful, Louise Thérèse, } 207, 219-20, 261-3, 267-71, 399.
Stevens, Elizabeth, (see Price).
Capt. Phineas, 335-40, 342, 344-6, 348, 356.
Stockwell, Quentin, 109-15, 117, 119-21, 124-5, 130, 231, 266, 273, 277.
Storer, ... 251.
Mary, 48-9, 51.
{ Priscilla, Marie Priscille, } 141.
Rachel, 51.
Trafton, { Charles, Louis Marie, } 262.
Turbot, Abigail, 200-1.
Van Schaack Anthony, 353.
Waite, Benjamin's Wife, 113, 124, 226.
Canada, 126.
Warren, { Grizel, Marie Madeleine, } 19, 23-4, 27-8, 30-1, 132, 201, 262, 333-5.
Webb, Seth, 340, 344.
Wells, Hepzibah, (Belding) 172, 177.
Wheelwright, { Esther, Sr Esther Marie Joseph de l'Enfant Jésus, } 45, 48-68, 335-6, 355, 379.
{ Whitney, Solomon Whitten or Whidden } 344.
{ Whitney, Timothy, Whitton, } 344.
Williams, Esther, 180, 386, 389.
Eunice, [Mather) 130, 196, 279-80, 386, 394.
{ Eunice, Marguerite, Marguerite Saon'got, } 25, 56, 130-1, 133-49, 151-4, 252, 359, 362, 366, 372-4, 376, 379-84, 386-94.
Rev. John, 130, 134-7, 143, 147-8, 150-2, 162, 167, 171, 176-81, 184-9, 191, 193, 196-8, 200, 206, 218, 234, 242, 244, 265-6, 273-4, 279-80, 307, 320, 333, 362, 366, 371, 373, 386, 394-5.

Williams, Samuel, 53, 188, 195-8, 200-1, 207, 242-3, 252, 386.
Stephen, 176, 180, 184, 266, 386-93.
Warham, 188, 386, 390.
Zebediah, 133, 234-5, 306.
Wright, Judah, 179.

York, Samuel, 215-16.

EXTRACT FROM
A
MAP
of the British and French Dominions in
NORTH AMERICA,
BY
Jnº Mitchell.
Engr. by J. I.

This Map was Undertaken with the Approbation and at the Request of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations: and is chiefly composed from Draughts, Charts and Actual Surveys of different parts of His Majesties Colonies and Plantations in America; Great part of which have been lately taken by their Lordships Orders, and transmitted to this Office by the Governors of the said Colonies and others.

Plantation Office,
Decr 13th 1755.

John Pownall
Secretary.

Drawn by S. I. Bushell.

CWR
30 oz net

DATE DUE

UNIVERSITY PRODUCTS, INC. #859-5503

50552

BOSTON COLLEGE
3 9031 01532062 5

BAKER, C. A.

BOSTON COLLEGE LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY HEIGHTS
CHESTNUT HILL, MASS.

Books may be kept for two weeks and may be renewed for the same period, unless reserved.

Two cents a day is charged for each book kept overtime.

If you cannot find what you want, ask the Librarian who will be glad to help you.

The borrower is responsible for books drawn on his card and for all fines accruing on the same.